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# *The* ARMENIAN REVIEW

Spring 1956  
SPRING, 1956

SPECIAL

PROF. ROBERT P. BLAKE'S  
ORIGINAL TRANSLATION OF  
HOVHANESS TOUMANIAN'S  
'ANUSH'

also

Reuben Darbinian  
Prof. N. Ađontz  
Avetis Aharonian  
Fridjof Nansen  
Prof. Joseph Strzygowski  
Hovsep Pushman  
Prof. Vahan Totomiantz  
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## THE ARMENIAN REVIEW

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*The* **ARMENIAN** **REVIEW**

# THE ARMENIAN REVIEW

SPRING, 1956

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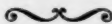
SPRING, MARCH, 1956

● FROM THE BYZANTINE ANNALS:

## BASIL I. THE ARMENIAN

(Emperor of Byzantium 867-886)

PROF. N. ADONTZ



It was a brutal murder which took place on the fourth of September, 867, in the midst of a convivial orgy at the Imperial Palace of S. Mamas, Byzantium. The Palace was located on the opposite bank of the Golden Horn, the present Galata which at the time was a suburb of the city. Emperor Michael was wont to break the monotony of his solitude by staging periodic bacchanalean orgies.

This was to be the last revelry which the voluptuous Emperor was destined to enjoy. Intoxicated with wine and utterly exhausted from excessive indulgence, the Emperor retired to his bed chamber. He had plunged into his sleep when the murderous conspirators rushed inside with a resounding crash. They were a company of Armenians led by Basil. The Emperor woke up, as if to witness the tragic ending of his still too young life. The deathly swords flashed and the hapless victim collapsed. He was dead.

While the murdered man's mother, the dethroned Theodora, and his black-clad sisters were weeping over the bloody corpse, the assassins hurriedly crossed the Golden Horn. It was a dark stormy night and the furious sea was lashing against the little dories which were taking the conspirators to the other side of the water where their confederates were waiting for them. From here the joint force raced to the Bucoleon, the pier of the Grand Palace where, again, confederates were waiting. Then they moved to the great palace and seized it unopposed.

Basil unanimously was proclaimed Emperor.

The new Emperor owed much to Michael. To kill one's benefactor is an ungrateful and serious thing. However, there is a deeply-rooted universal notion that a deed should be judged by the results. Basil's crime marked the beginning of a glorious

era which brought Byzantine civilization to its pinnacle. No one condemned the bloody hands. The best pages of history, the most illustrious achievements and the most ambitious dreams have almost invariably been drenched in blood.

Like many others Basil was innocent. They say he was not responsible for his deed, but as he was the obedient servant of Providence, he was doing only the bidding of the invisible power. This is the way Basil has been presented to us by the very first tale in which he appears on the scene of history for the first time. This is the way the legend runs.

When still a lad, Basil left his father's home and took the road to the capital where he hoped to find work with which to help his mother and his young brothers and sisters. Staff in hand, his knapsack on his shoulder, he trudged the long road until he reached the walls of the capital. He stopped at the Golden Gate where stood the Monastery of Saint Diomedius. It was evening and the sun was gathering its rays. Soon dusk fell. The traveler, weary of the long journey, lay under the monastery wall and fell asleep.

In the middle of the night a divine voice awakened one of the monks, "Arise and go invite the Emperor in." According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus the monk was none other than the Abbot of the Monastery and the mysterious voice came from Saint Diomedius. The monk went out but saw no emperor there, instead, a dusty peasant wayfarer. He returned and went to sleep.

The voice repeated the command the second time and the monk again rose up and went out to inquire, but again seeing no emperor, he shut the door and went back to sleep. Before long a powerful blow on the side woke him and it was the same command, "Go bring him in who is lying at the gate. He is the Emperor."

The devout monk went out and invited the poor traveler in. The next day he gave him a bath, dusted off his clothes, attended to his needs with pious solicitude, and concluded a pact of brotherhood with him.

Thus the chosen of Providence entered the city from the Golden Gate with a golden dream, and advanced to imperial heights through the guidance of the same hand.

Who was this mysterious traveler sent by God, whence did he come? It is not definitely known. Could it be that his past was far from being lustrous, and thus it was cloaked by the veil of obscurity? Or was it because Basil ascended the throne so swiftly, without having made a name for himself either in valor or statesmanship, which left no time nor occasion to be interested in his past?

Whatever the reason, the first period of Basil's life, his birth, his family conditions and his childhood have remained obscure, or at best under a very hazy light. This chapter of his life is unknown even to his grandson Constantine Porphyrogenitus the Emperor who worshipped his grandfather and spared no effort to write his complete history. The unknown and the obscure, in turn, have given rise to the imagination and various tales to satisfy the aroused interest. Such tales, unconfirmed reports and artificial interpretations have been incorporated in the authentic material which Porphyrogenitus the historian amassed with great care, classified it, and wove of it a solid and compact story, dignifying it with the stamp of his authority.

The grandfather's history is written with a definite purpose, "so that, succeeding generations shall know the real source and fountain of the Imperial house, the long chian" which is Basil. He "must serve as an example to his heirs, an example of valor, a model whom they shall follow and emulate."

Biased writings are never impartial. Driven by the urge to present Basil as an ideal character, his devoted grandson often resorts to artificial means, the varnish of the novelist. To bring out the real image, one must remove all the extraneous, superimposed and spurious painting. Fortunately, we are in possession of sources which enable us to follow the pen of Porphyrogenitus, to correct certain pages and to throw new light on what has been said.

In this connection, especially memorable is the continuer of the story, Gevorg the Monk. Gevorg brought his story down to the first years of Theodora's reign in 843. From then on an unknown author has brought the story down to 950. It is presumed that this unknown author was Simeon Metaprastus.

What these authors relate about Basil's birth and childhood runs more like a novel rather than history. Basil, according to them, was born in a neighboring village of the City of Adrianopolis, Macedonia, in the days of Emperor Michael Rhangabe (811-813). It was in his time that the Bulgars under King Krum (Crumm) invaded the empire and laid siege to the capital. Emperor Michael lost his crown and was succeeded by Leo the Armenian in 813. The Bulgars were forced to raise the siege and retire. When they reached Adrianopolis they sacked the city and took their captives, tens of thousands of men and countless women and children, to the other bank of Danube where they settled. The prisoners, although from Thrace, were regarded as Macedonians and their new settlement, likewise, was called Macedonia.

Basil's parents were among the captives and Basil himself was an infant in his swaddling clothes at the time. Krum's invasion took place in 813, therefore, Basil must have been born either that or the preceding year, about 812-813. The deportees were repatriated in the days of Em-

peror Theophilus, including Basil and his parents. At that time Basil was 25 which locates the date of the repatriation at 837-38.

The story of the repatriation is interesting, although Basil's crowned biographer has said nothing about it. The leader of the prisoners at the banks of Danube, or the Macedonian general, in the words of our author, was a man named Cordylis. He had a son named Vard who was known for his proven valor. Relying on his ability, Cordylis left his son Vard in charge while he himself through some stratagem sneaked into the capital to tell the Emperor that the deported population wanted to return to their former homes. The Emperor ordered his fleet to transport the prisoners back into the capital.

At that time the king of the Bulgars was Vladimir, the grandson of Krum. When "Michael the Bulgar" marched on Thessalonika, the captives decided to take advantage of the situation and carry out their plan. They crossed the Danube and headed for the shore where the imperial fleet was waiting for them.

"The Macedonians," or the captives, therefore, had elected Cordylis as their leader, who, as it appears, after fulfilling his mission at the capital, had returned to his people. The Bulgars tried to stop the escape of the captives but were defeated in the battle. A neighboring people first called Hungarians, the second time Turks, and the third time Huns, came to the assistance of the Bulgars but the defenders staved them off for three days and the fourth day they succeeded in boarding the ships. There was one last sally by the enemy but a brave youth named Leo Comosd, at the head of a company of fighters, repelled them. Later, this Leo was made Captain of a regiment which consisted of "federates", namely, a foreign legion.

As apparent, this story is drawn from

an authentic source, although the historian has confused many things. At the time of Theophilus the Bulgar king was not Vladimir but Malamir, the grandson of Krum, whereas Vladimir was Boris' son and successor.

In all probability Vladimir is the result of misreading. At the same time mention is made of Michael the Bulgar, or the king of the Bulgars. Michael is the Christian name of Bocoris (Boris) who was Malamir's cousin and successor. It is quite possible Michael was mistaken for Malamir in the reading, if only we are reluctant to suppose that Michael Bocoris could have been the leader of the invasion and not king, a general at the time of Malamir's reign. Michael Bocoris ascended the throne probably in 852. Therefore, he could not have taken part in the events of 837 as king.

The leaders of the captives are Armenians. Cordylis is an Armenian, as proved by the name of his son Vard. An Armenian is also Tzantzis which sounds like an Armenian word. This man was appointed by Cordylis as his lieutenant and there's no mention as to what happened to him later. During the escape the generals who are mentioned were Cordylis and Tzantz. Could it be that Vard was killed in the battle? There is no mention of this. It is highly probable that Tzantz or Djandj was this same Vard. Of the double names one is the real name and the other the surname.

We won't be far from the truth if we assume that Leo Comosd too was an Armenian. The foreign legion was made up largely of Armenians.

In 813 the Bulgars took tens of thousands prisoners from Adrianopolis. We know from other sources that the following year the Bulgars ravaged the country and deported a population of 50,000. That not an inconsiderable number of these captives were Armenians is apparent from the fact

that their leaders, as we have seen, were Armenians, and in the booty special mention is made of "Armenian textiles, precious rugs, clothing and bronze utensils."

Included among the captives of Adrianopolis was Manuel, the Bishop of the city, Basil's parents and the infant Basil himself. Krum's successor Mutraco, however, antagonized the Bishop, and after a vain attempt to force him to renounce the Christian faith, inflicted upon him a martyr's death. "Many of Basil's relatives, too, were martyred, thus sharing the immortality of Christ's witnesses," adds the historian.

There was another man among the captives whose name was Kinamon who at first won the favor of Omurdak (the same Murdak) the Bulgar King, but later he was imprisoned for refusing to become an apostate and later, in the reign of the next king Malamir he too met a martyr's death. Kinnam (on) is a Parthian word, *Kinnama*, meaning sulky, surly or spleenish, best expressed by the Armenian word *Kinakhuntir*. It must be supposed that Kinam was an Armenian. So probably was Bishop Manuel which, although a Scriptural name, in its present form is more like Armenian, a name which was adopted by the Mamikonian clan from earliest times. The victims of the captivity, as it appears, were largely Armenians.

When Basil returned to his native country he entered the service of the Macedonian General who is known to us by the name of Tzantz. From this it follows that Basil was an Armenian.

In the geneological work of Photius the Patriarch Basil's ancestors are represented as having first settled in the City of Nice, Macedonia, and then moved to the City of Philippi, likewise in Macedonia. When Basil became rich through Lady Danelis he bought large estates in Macedonia, thus insuring the security of his relatives. These developments clearly prove



that Basil's initial residence was in Macedonia, and this, perhaps, is the reason why the captives of Adrianopolis have been called Macedonians, including Basil's parents. It is permissible to suppose that the word Macedonia is used in a broad sense, including Thrace, as proved by the following quotation from an ancient Armenian Bible dated 1011: "In the Province of Macedonia in the City of Antrnabavlis (Adrianopolis) in the reign of Basil."

However, in the Ninth Century Macedonia and Thrace were separate provinces, excluding the possibility of confusion. It seems the identification of Adrianopolis with Macedonia has a connection with the geneology of Basil. According to Patriarch Photius, Basil's mother was a native of Adrianopolis, a Macedonian. The contrary theory that the duality of the geneology might have had a bearing on the history of the captivity is less acceptable. The priority here does not belong to the Patriarch who, probably, was familiar with the original source from which our historian drew his passage of the captivity.

The real birthplace of Basil is not clear; however, at all events, Macedonia has a greater claim to the honor than Adrianopolis. To what extent the captivity of his parents is connected with the events of Adrianopolis is highly doubtful. Basil could not have been born in 812, if that's the aim of the story. As we shall see further on, there is more valid reason to suppose that he was born during the repatriation from captivity in 836-37.

That Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Basil's Biographer, does not know or has ignored the story of the captives' return is indeed noteworthy. He does mention that Basil's parents were among the captives in 813, including the infant Basil, but he considers their return as having taken place in peace time and not so late. The

Bulgar King, "bowing before the Imperial might," has permitted the captives to return to their native land.

When the captives were making ready to depart the Bulgar King noticed the infant Basil among the multitude, a healthy lad with a noble face, and offered him an extraordinarily large apple. The lad, without cringing, approached the King, and kneeling down, showed such an exquisite delicacy of manner that the King marveled at him, even though his entourage frowned upon the whole scene. The conclusion is, Basil was still a lad at the time of the return from the captivity, and not at the time of the captivity.

The parents returned to their native home together with the child. One day, as they went to the fields to join the harvesters and to watch over them, the mother wove a canopy of bramble to protect the child from the sun's burning rays. Suddenly an eagle descended from the skies, and spreading its wings, made an umbrella over the child. Fearful that the bird might hurt the child, the mother chased it away with rocks, but before long the bird again returned and the mother again drove it away. The bird returned for the third time and posed over the child. "There are many such prophetic signs," the biographer says, "but I do not want to dwell long upon them."

His childhood scarcely over, Basil lost his father, leaving the burden of caring for the family upon his shoulders. He had to provide for his mother and brothers. Seeing there was no money in farming he thought of going to the city. Great cities, observes his biographer, enable the individual to bring to the fore his talents, something which small villages stifle. At first the mother was reluctant to part with her son but a series of dreams forced her to bow to the will of God and to send him into exile with her blessing.



One day the mother had a dream. Like the mother of Cyrus, she saw a full grown tree, taller than the house, in full bloom and loaded with fruit. The trunk of the tree was of gold and the branches and the leaves, likewise, looked like gold. A bystander, who knew how to interpret dreams, told her that the dream meant her son would have a great and illustrious future. Another time she saw in a dream an old man blowing flame from his mouth who told her plainly and clearly that her beloved son Basil would some day become an emperor. When the astonished mother asked who he was, the man said: "I am Elijah," and disappeared. After these divine inspirations the mother agreed to let her son go.

Basil's biographer does not mention that his grandfather, before his coming to the capital, had served under the Macedonian General Tzantz.

Basil headed for the capital from "Thracean Macedonia." Worthy of attention are the quotes whereby the author wants to resolve the manifest geographical anomaly.

The lad stopped at the Golden Gate of the Monastery of Saint Diomedius. The name of the friar who had the dream about him was Nicolaius. This man had a physician brother who was attending on Prince Theophylis, a relative of Vard and Empress Theodora, and therefore an Armenian. The physician who at the time was visiting his friar brother at the monastery, when he saw Basil he marveled at his magnificent physique, and curious, wanted to know who the lad was. His brother told him about his dream and asked him to keep his secret.

One day, as the physician and Theophylis were at dinner, the latter casually remarked that he needed a brave equerry for his stables, whereupon the physician, without hesitation, recommended Basil, and the Prince sent for him at once. Theophylis

liked Basil the minute he saw him — a tall handsome youth with curly hair and a large head for which reason he called him *Kephalas*, large-headed. He could not have dreamed of a better stable-man. Theophylis appointed him *Protostrator*, his chief equerry.

Michael the young Emperor had just become a bridegroom and, on the occasion, the Strategos of the Bukelarian Theme had sent him a present of a thoroughbred fiery stallion. Intending to race the animal at the circus, the Emperor wanted to give a physical check — the teeth, the age, temperament etc. But the animal was so fiery neither the Emperor nor anyone else could come close to him. Theophylis who was a spectator said to the Emperor that there was a youth in his service, a brave and trained horseman, who alone could subdue the animal. Michael ordered his Seneshal to repair to the Iron Gate (*Sideraplya* — *Demir Kapou*) and bring Basil on the instant. Basil approached the horse, held the reins in one hand and started to stroke behind the animal's ear with the other. The furious stallion instantly became as tame as a lamb. The Emperor was pleased and took the youth into his service as his equerry, and at the same time ordered Andreas, the Commander of the Foreign Regiment, to take Basil into his regiment.

## II

The sequel writer of Gevorg mentions the incident of the stallion for the first time after Michael's marriage. The encounter with the stallion took place soon after the marriage. Michael was born in 839 and, to marry, he should have been at least 15, even after making full provision for the historian's statement that he reached maturity at an early age. Accordingly, the marriage must have taken place not before 854-855. Let us suppose

that the stallion incident took place in 855.

Theophylis, in recommending Basil to the Emperor, calls him *neotheron*, which means a young lad. If Basil was born in 812 he should have been 43 at the time, something which makes the qualification of *neotheron* preposterous. It is not likely that the 15 year old young Emperor hired a man of 43 as his equerry. It is obvious that Basil could not have been born in 812. If we place the date of Basil's birth at 836, the year of the return from captivity as I have affirmed before, Basil would be Michael's senior only by three years, a lad of 19, of the same age with Michael, and truthfully a *neotheron*. When Michael presented his new equerry to his Empress Mother, he said, "See, Mother, I have brought you a brave lad — *Agouron*. *Agouron* means young, newly-sprouting. It was on this occasion that the Empress Mother, as the historian would have us believe, prophesied saying: "This lad, my son, will destroy our home."

Constantine Porphyrogenitus, too, is familiar with the stallion incident but his version is different. Emperor Michael had a horse which was beautiful but exceedingly headstrong. In all other aspects the animal was perfect — tall, lovely, a racer and a thoroughbred. It had only one fault. Once he was stripped of his reins he was incontrollable, no one could come close to him.

Once the Emperor mounted this steed and went hunting. During the race the animal stepped on a rabbit and killed it, and as the Emperor dismounted to retrieve the rabbit the horse ran away. Men chased him but could not catch him. Enraged, Michael ordered the animal's hind legs cut off the minute they caught him, but Caesar Vard importuned the Emperor not to destroy such a wonderful animal for such a trifling cause. Just then Basil whispered to

his master Theophylis if the Emperor would be angry if he were to race his horse to the animal and mount him on the flight, without dismounting from his horse. The Emperor assented and Basil caught the animal. The amazed Emperor then asked Theophylis to lend him this brave youth to be his Imperial Strator, stableman. Basil won the Emperor's favor and was appointed Protostrator — Imperial Equerry.

This is a sample of how Porphyrogenitus the historian alters and decorates with inventive details a simple and artless incident, thus endangering the historical truth. A common and realistic incident of subduing a horse has been so disfigured by Constantine's pen that it has lost its true colors. No mention is made here that the incident took place after Michael's marriage. The question which interests us is: when did Basil enter Michael's service as equerry?

The Michael who went on hunting expeditions must have been at least 14-15 year old, therefore, approximately at the age when he married. On the other hand, if it is true that Vard accompanied him on these expeditions, it must have been not before 856 when Michael and Vard seized the power following the assassination of the Eunuch Teotist. We know that in 858, when an attempt was made on Vard's life, Basil already was made Protostrator. It is quite probable that Basil was made Strator in 856 as a result of a great palace revolution, when Basil was nearly 20.

Basil continued in the service of Theophylis for several years. He came into prominence the first time as a result of his wrestling prowess in Imperial circles. Emperor Constantine recounts this feat before the incident of the stallion.

Vard's son Antigone had received invitations to the Imperial Palace for a recep-

tion in honor of his father. Vard attended the affair, accompanied by senators, close friends, and among others, some Bulgarians who were at the capital as ambassadors. Included among the invited guests was Basil's master Theophylos or Theophylis as a relative. Another guest was Constantine the Patrician, the father of the historian Genesius. As the Bulgars became inebriated with the wine they waxed arrogant and started to brag that they had a wrestler among them whose shoulders had never been pinned to the mat. Just then Theophylis approached Caesar Vard and warned him that it would be a great insult and a scandal to be thus humiliated by the Bulgars, that the latter would return to their land and boast that they are invincible. He proposed to send for Basil who was a stableman in his service who alone could silence those haughty Bulgars.

In no time at all Basil was on hand. Constantine the Patrician was very solicitous of Basil as an Armenian, and as a precautionary measure, he ordered a bedding of straw on the floor lest his compatriot slipped and fell during the wrestling. The minute the wrestlers came to grips, Basil seized his antagonist with a crushing grip, hoisted him high in the air as if he were a sheaf of hay or a sack of light wool, and slammed him to the mat. The spectators were agape with astonishment and Basil's fame rang the rafters.

It must be supposed that there is a grain of truth in this incident, although our sources give an entirely different picture of the affair, casting doubt even on that small grain of truth.

The historian Genesius knows two incidents of the wrestling. The first of these took place in the presence of Theophylis, and not Antigon. It was Theophylis who invited to dinner Antigon, Constantine the Patrician and the historian's grandfather.

Theophylis, as well as Vard and Emperor Michael had their own wrestlers. That day Theophylis' wrestlers were defeated by the wrestlers of Vard and Michael. Then Basil redeemed the honor of his master. Constantine the Patrician appears in the same role as recorded by Porphyrogenitus. He covered the ring with a bedding of straw to prevent Basil from slipping. The Bulgar could not lift Basil but the latter not only lifted his antagonist but he whirled him in the air — *hata podrezan* — and brought down with a crushing body slam. The Bulgar passed out and had to be revived by pouring water on his face.

Antigon reported Basil's victory to his father and the latter told it to Michael, whereupon, the Emperor sent for Basil and two other wrestlers. Of the three the Emperor liked Basil best, especially for his magnificent physique, rewarded him with gifts and honors and appointed him Strator. It was on this occasion that Empress Theodora, staring at Basil, exclaimed, "My son, would that I had not seen this day. This man will ruin our home as your father prophesied."

The second incident, according to the same chronicler, took place when Basil already was on the throne.

The King of the Bulgars had a famous wrestler who was considered invincible. Emperor Basil could not stand the thought of a foreign wrestler staining the Roman name, therefore, he posed as the champion in his disguise. The "Scythian," namely the Bulgarian tried to lift the Macedonian but could not. Whereas, Basil hugged him in his powerful arms, hoisted him up, and brought him down with an overhead whirl and body slam with such force that the Bulgar passed out and they had to revive him with "much water, drops of wine and rose-water. Blood was dripping from his nose and ears."

The Emperor's wrestling, as such, is in-

credible, the whole story being nothing but the echo of the first incident. The historian's grandfather Constantine the Patrician was present at the match and conceivably the grandson had definite information as to what actually took place. It seems, the grandson preferred to be rather pleasing than truthful. To please Porphyrogenitus, by whose order he recorded the story, he has exaggerated his zeal in praise of Basil by inventing new proof of his wrestling prowess.

It is worthy of note that Theodora's prophetic apprehension after the wrestling bout is attributed by Porphyrogenitus to entirely different circumstances. According to him, the sports-loving Michael one day went on a hunting expedition at a place called Armamentaria where he ordered a great banquet, inviting his mother, his relatives and the senatorial dignitaries. Among the invited was Basil who at the time was Protostrator. As Basil sat at the table the Empress Theodora fixed her eyes upon him, as if trying to penetrate his innermost soul. Suddenly she was seized with a convulsion and fainted. They revived her with water and rose-water. The guests retired. Michael approached his mother and asked the reason for her fainting.

It was at this time that the excited Empress revealed her premonition in regard to Basil. "It seems to me," she said, "this is the man who will destroy our home. I have heard from your father that someone will destroy it. All signs indicate that Basil will be our heir. It seems I see with my own eyes the downfall of our home. It was this feeling which disturbed me and caused me to faint."

The Emperor quieted his Mother saying, "Your suspicions are groundless, Mother. This man is a common churl, endowed only with his physical strength like Samson, nothing more. He is an Enoch or a Nimrod born in our times. You need have no fear."

Thus, by the grace of God, Basil was spared a disaster, concludes his historian grandson.

The reference to Theophylis is connected with a prophecy which an Arab fortune teller woman made to him, that his reign would be followed by his wife and son, after which the power would pass to the House of Martiniak. It is instructive to note the degree of freedom with which the historians treat the same subjects, authentic or unconfirmed. Each has drawn a circle according to his taste in which to rearrange all the current hearsay. It is a novelistic approach, rather than a historian's, and the reason is not merely the tendency to deify Basil, but the paucity of authentic information.

Nor are we impressed with the legend of Basil's friendship with Lady Danelis, as related only by his grandson Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Once Theophylis journeyed on a state mission, at the instance of Michael and Vard, and Basil accompanied him. In the Achaean city of Patras Theophylis visited the temple of the Apostle Andreas (Andrew) and prayed there. Being occupied at the time, Basil did not accompany him but visited the same temple soon after.

The entertaining friar showed no particular interest or respect toward Theophylis and his fellow pilgrim, but when Basil appeared he met him and welcomed him like a king. Those were on the scene marveled at this unique homage, and the news reached a resident wealthy noblewoman, a widow who was called Danelis after her husband. Knowing the Friar to be a man of prophetic gift, Lady Danelis summoned him and asked why he had shown such extraordinary courtesy and homage to a stranger while denying the same to either her son or grandson? The Friar told her that the stranger was not an ordinary man and that he had seen in a vision the great

Roman Emperor, the Chosen of God, and such men should be respected.

Having completed his mission Theophylis returned to the city while Basil, owing to illness, could not accompany him and stayed behind for a while.

Meanwhile Lady Danelis was friendly and respectful of Basil, "as one who sows the good seed in fertile soil so that he could reap a rich harvest when the time came." She conferred upon him costly presents, gold, clothing, and 300 servants. In return for her generosity she expected nothing but his troth of spiritual kinship with her son John. Basil reluctantly accepted the gifts and promised to make her heir of certain of his estates when he became Emperor as the Friar had prophesied. It was this unexpected fortune which enabled Basil to purchase his estate in Macedonia, thus insuring the security of his family. "He who was rich in virtue thus became rich in money and possessions," the historian comments.

The core of this story consists of the explanation it offers of Basil's sudden acquisition of wealth, to which end, Lady Danelis' resources have been magnified to fabulous limits. The conclusion is that Basil really was a rich landowner in Macedonia, giving rise to the Cinderella story of how a poor lad, of his own initiative and toil, worked his way from poverty to the throne of an empire.

After the stallion incident, as we have seen, Basil was appointed Imperial Strator or stableman, approximately in 856. According to Genesisius this took place after the wrestling incident. After the abortive attempt upon Vard's life at the instigation of Theodora and the active participation of the Emperor's Protostrator, the Emperor punished the latter by replacing him with Basil in 858. The following remarkable feat is ascribed to this period of Basil's life.

One day Emperor Michael went hunting at a place called Philopation. According to the accepted custom, Basil, the Protostrator (Equerry) was leading the party, his inseparable *bardoukion* hanging from his belt. Upon the alarum of the trumpeteers and the barking of the hounds, suddenly there emerged from the forest a huge wolf, throwing consternation all around. But Basil calmly hurled his *bardoukion* at the beast and cleanly clove its head in two. Caesar Vard who was in the Emperor's party turned to his friends and said, "This man will put an end to our dynasty."

It is related that Vard, uncertain of his future, often would ask the great philosopher, Leo who was an Armenian and Chancellor of the University, in regard to the future. "I see," the philosopher would reply, "that your dynasty shall be destroyed by a very young person — *neanischos*." But when he saw Basil, pointing at him with his finger he said, "That's the one who will be your heir."

Thereafter Vard started to plot against Basil but all to no avail, because, as the historian thinks, nothing could change what was ordained by higher providence. The tale itself is immaterial; what counts are the words ascribed to the philosopher that the one who will overthrow Vard will be a very young man, an additional proof confirming the fact that Basil was comparatively young when he ascended the Byzantine throne, all of which further confirm our previous doubt and correction. In the light of the preceding calculations, in 866 when Vard was assassinated, Basil must have been 30.

The Protostrator Basil, steadily advancing, finally attained to the high office of Imperial Chamberlain — *Parakoimomenos*. The Eunuch Damianos who had occupied that post had helped Vard in the assassination of the most powerful minister Theodist and to take the helm of the government.



Having been denied his expected reward, Damianos had broken with Vard, was dismissed from his post by order of the Emperor, and had retired to the seclusion of the monastery. His place was taken by Basil. At the time of Damiano, dismissal Vard already was Caesar, having attained to that honor on April 26, 862. With his post of Chamberlain, Basil also was promoted to the rank of Patrician. He soon won the Emperor's friendship and favor, and Vard, who was a man of sufficient experience and perceptive ability, could not help but feel what a formidable foe the new Chamberlain would be. The latter, on the other hand, could clearly see that the real power in the Empire was not the Emperor but the powerful Caesar. He alone could pose as an obstacle to his ambitious designs.

Presently the moot rivalry between the two champions is on. Basil succeeded first in separating Vard from Sembat, a man close to Vard, his son-in-law, and holder of the post of grand *logothet* — Speaker. Sembat was blinded by Basil's promise of promotion to the rank of Caesar after the overthrow of Vard.

Through Sembat Basil poisoned the mind of Michael that the Caesar was secretly plotting against him in the hope of seizing the throne. It was a despicable lie, of course, nevertheless the Emperor succumbed to its venom and naively made common cause with the enemies of his own uncle and strongest support, ruthlessly destroyed him without realizing that he not only was committing a crime but a fatal error which inevitably would lead to his own destruction.

The circumstances of Vard's assassination are repulsive. In the spring of 866 Emperor Michael marched to the Province of Thrace and camped at a plain called Kippi near the River Meander. It had been announced that the Emperor was marching against the Moslem government of the Island of Crete.

Was this a serious invasion or a mere pretext for the pre-planned crime? It is not known. Vard was assassinated here perfidiously. Suffice it to mention here that the author of the sequel to Gevorg attributes the crime to Sembat and Basil, Genesis does not mention Basil's name, while Constantine Porphyrogenitus puts the whole blame on Michael. Genesis ascribes the same role to Constantine the Armenian. Both historians favor their grandfather but not the truth.

Emperor Michael wrote from his camp to Patriarch Photius in regard to the murder and the farsighted Patriarch advised the Emperor at once to return to his capital. He no doubt had no faith in Basil and feared that the Emperor would be the next victim of his ambition. Michael returned to the capital. In less than thirty days Basil was proclaimed Emperor, joint ruler with Michael.

### III

Vard's son-in-law Sembat III who, for his complicity in the plot had hoped to be rewarded with the rank of Caesar, was bitterly disillusioned when he saw that he had been but a plaything in the hands of Basil and was filled with hatred and bitterness. He took counsel with George, the Stratelat who was Bekan's son and asked to be appointed Strategos the next day which meant being in charge of a Theme. The "next day" was understood to mean the day which followed the consultation, and not the coronation.

Sembat's request went unheeded. On the contrary, he was stripped of his office of Logothet which went to one Kumer. George was offered the Opsikian Theme. Both were dissatisfied and rebelled against the government. They started to incite the people, burn the fields and the vineyards, in protest against Basil's promotion. The two emperors issued orders to the strategi of the other themes to suppress the revolt. The task of destroying the rebellion was com-

mitted to General Niciphor Maleyin. This man moved cautiously, distributed circular letters among the military to work in secret, and to crush the revolt more by subtle methods rather than by open force, to prevent the movement from spreading and deteriorating into civil war. Soon George Began was arrested, and by orders from above, the City Eparchus Constantine Myares gouged out his eyes in the public square and forced him to beg alms from the passersby.

Thirty days later the same Maleyin arrested Sembat in an inn in the Province of Yegeghiatz (Erzinka) and presented him to the Emperor in his Palace of St. Mamas. Sembat was subjected to the same indignities, being blinded in one eye and forced to solicit alms like a common beggar. Three days later Sembat and Began were released and sent to their homes under strict surveillance.

According to another source, Sembat, refusing to stay in the city any longer, asked for the strategosate of Thrace which he received, while Began was given the Opsikian Theme. Niciphor Maleyin's name is not mentioned, nor is the Province of Yegeghiatz. Sembat was arrested at a fortress called Lainakar (Illateya Petra), a place which is now unknown, in all probability somewhere in the Province of Thrace. Began fled to Katuaion, apparently present day Keotahia. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the source of this information, would have us believe that Basil pardoned the culprits and even invited them to his Imperial table. Genesisius makes no mention of the Sembat-Began affair.

The joint rule of the two emperors did not last long. Scarcely one year and a few months had passed when Basil assassinated Michael and became sole ruler of the empire.

Michael was not a man of good character. From early childhood he had surrendered himself to a licentious life. In the days of

Vard he had very little to do with state affairs, his mad orgies having taken precedence over state business. He was especially fond of horse races. The Palace of St. Mamas had a special arena in which he personally took part in the races. It is related that once, in the midst of the races, fire signals announced that the enemy had invaded the empire. The Philosopher Leo the Great had invented a signal system which flashed the news from Cilicia to the capital that the Arab had invaded the land. The Emperor held back from the public the news until the race was over.

It is difficult to believe the absurd gossip which has been woven around the pleasure loving emperor's pastime. They used to play childish pranks and jokes on him. His closest companion and associate was his favorite court jester Theophil, his surname Swine — *Ghryllos*. Michael called him Himerios which in Greek means dear. The pranks sometimes were positively indecent, almost sacrilegious. Himerios would appear in the attire of the Patriarch while Michael posed as the Archbishop of Cologne. Eleven others, attired as bishops, would burlesque the ceremonies of ordination or divestiture. They carried their vulgarity to such an extent that they even ridiculed the mystery of Holy Communion by offering mustard and vinegar as sacraments. They did not even spare the Patriarch. One day, as Patriarch Ignatius, heading a church procession, was proceeding toward the nearby suburb, suddenly he came face to face with a caricature Patriarch mounted on a donkey and surrounded by his retinue, Emperor Michael in their very midst. With music and ribald songs, the comedy actors faced the Patriarch as if they were singing psalms, and with their raucous voices disrupted the real procession.

Michael did not even shrink from insulting the devout feelings of his own mother. Once he fooled his mother by tell-



ing her the Patriarch was waiting for her in the Palace to give her his blessing. As a matter of fact the Patriarch was none other than the Swine Theophil, the Court Jester who in his patriarchal vestments was seated on a throne beside Michael. The Empress really showed up, mistaking the bufoon for the real Patriarch, and bowed before him for his blessing. Just then the phony patriarch exposed his derriere to the Empress. Mortified with shame, the Queen ran away cursing her unworthy son.

They say Michael was wont to repeat that Himerios was his patriarch, Potius was Caesar's (Vard), and Ignatius the Patriarch of the Christians.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus has described Michael in such black colors in order to justify Basil's crime. The gossip about Michael's unseemly behavior he collected, although highly colored, was not without basis. We have the testimony of other independent sources in regard to vulgarities which were perpetrated in the capital.

The author of the sequel of George the monastic, who is wholly immune to the influence of the Imperial house, makes no mention of Michael's bufooneries but gives a detailed description of his assassination.

Michael was staging a horse race at the palace arena which was attended by Patrician Constantine the Armenian, the grandfather of Genesis the historian, and two other persons named Acalia and Crusas. The Emperor was a partisan of the Blues, Constantine, the Whites, Acalia the Greens, and Crissa the Reds. The Emperor was the victor in the races. To celebrate the occasion he gave a banquet to which were invited Basil and his wife Eudocia, a former mistress of the Emperor. During the banquet a patrician named Basiliskian started to flatter the Emperor for his skill in horsemanship. Of course, nothing could have been more pleasing to the Emperor's vanity.

Intoxicated with the praise, Michael commanded Basiliskian to take off his Imperial red shoes — *Zangia* — and put them on himself. Basiliskian hesitated, looking in the direction of Basil. This angered the Emperor who barked at him to obey his command. Although Basil gave no sign of approval, Basiliskian put on the shoes all the same. Thereupon, the Emperor said to Basil, "By Heaven, the shoes suit him better than they do on you. Have I no right to make another Emperor just as I made you one?"

Seeing the Emperor was angry at Basil and was about to do something foolish, Eudocia importuned him tearfully: "The Imperial honor, my Lord, is a sublime thing and we are unworthy of wearing it; nevertheless, it is unseemly to degrade the Imperial honor to this extent."

The Emperor's reply was far from comforting. "Do not grieve," he said, "I want to make Basiliskian an emperor."

Basil's anger and chagrin had no bounds. The relations of the two emperors became strained with each passing day, destroying their mutual trust. Perhaps this was what gave rise to the rumor that one day, when Michael went on a hunting trip, an unknown friar approached him and handed him a piece of paper which warned the Emperor against Basil's intrigues.

Michael was seized with fear and hatred, and in turn, he resolved to put an end to Basil's life, but the latter acted more swiftly.

On September 24, 867, Michael invited Basil and his wife Eudocia to dinner at his Palace of St. Mamas. Michael was fond of drinking. When the wine started to take its effect, Basil left the table, went to the Imperial bedchamber and with his powerful hands twisted the latch so that no one could close the door. He then returned to his seat at the table.

Michael, now wholly intoxicated, arose from the table, and leaning on Basil's arm, headed for his bedchamber. Basil kissed

his hand and withdrew. Standing guard at the sleeping room was Basiliskian in place of the first chamberlain Rendak. The latter was on a hunting expedition and had orders from the Emperor to announce the result to Queen Mother Theodora who had been invited to dinner the following day.

Ignatius the chamberlain wanted to secure the door but saw that its latch had been tampered with. He was seized with suspicion, sat upon the bed and started to tear his hair. Dead drunk, the Emperor was deep asleep. Suddenly with a tumultuous noise, in rushed Basil together with his companions. The door was open. Trembling with fear, Ignatius rushed to the door to stop the intruders. Petros the Bulgar, one of the conspirators, sneaked past Basil toward the imperial bed but was stopped by Ignatius.

The Emperor awakened from the commotion. One of the conspirators, Hovhannes Khald, drew his sword and cut off the Emperor's hand. The other conspirator, Hagovpik (Iachivitzis) the Persian Apelatis wounded Basiliskian with his sword and repulsed him. Basil's two brothers, Marian and Sembat, and his cousin Acila (Acilamus), another man named Vard and Constantine Toxar were guarding the main entrance, as a result of which none of Michael's servants knew what was going on in the bedroom.

The conspirators hesitated a moment, not knowing what to do, whether to kill the Emperor or leave him maimed. Acila was of the opinion that if the Emperor was spared none of them could hope to stay alive. To please Basil, he rushed to the bedroom where he saw Michael, with his hands cut off, lying on the bed and begging them to take pity on him, to have mercy, and to spare him. Acila paid no attention, came close, and with one stroke of the sword ripped open his entrails.

The conspirators now hurried to the pal-

ace to seize it. The sea was stormy. They descended to the bank of the Golden Horn, entered the home of Yevlok the Persian, and together made off toward the Pier of Bucoleon and from there entered the palace. Yevlok in his language said to Artavazt, the Commander of the foreign regiment, that Michael had been slain by the sword, and ordered him to open the gates to receive the new Emperor. Artavazt ran to the palace guard, grabbed the key, and opened the gate. Basil made his entry unopposed. His first act was to deliver the keys to the new *Papias*, a man named Grigor Philemon.

Basil immediately sent messengers to his wife Eudocia, to bring her in with imperial homage. At the same time, he sent John the Chamberlain to the other Eudocia, Michael's wife, to take her to her parents. He ordered the other chamberlain whose name was Pavlos, to go bury Michael's body. When Pavlos entered the palace of Mamas he saw that hapless victim's body was wrapped in his beloved horse's blanket, his entrails hanging out. He saw Michael's mother and sisters weeping and wailing over him. He hauled the body to a boat and took it to the Monastery of Christopol on the Asiatic shore where he buried it.

Thus, Basil became sole ruler of the Byzantine Empire.

The new Emperor appointed Marian, the son of Petron, *Eparchos* of the capital and ordered him to go to the forum and announce that Basil is the only Emperor. Petron was the brother of Caesar Vard and Empress Theodora. It must be supposed that Marian, too, was one of the conspirators.

Our historian would have us believe that the conspirators came to a sorry ending, punished, as if, by divine providence. Hagovpik, the slayer of Basiliskian, during a hunting expedition with the Emperor, as he was dismounting his horse to retrieve

his sword, the horse ran away and he fell to the ground dead. Hovhannes Khald who had cut off Michael's hinds was appointed strategos of Khaldik. Having defied the Emperor, at the latter's command, he was impaled at the hand of Andreas the Stratelat. Acila (on) was exiled to a suburb of the capital called Khardophilak, fell out with his servants who killed him one night. Apelat(is) the Persian died with the worms. Constantine Toxar(is) fell by the sword. The Emperor's brother Marian was wounded on the foot and died with worms.

It's important to note that all of Basil's conspirators were Armenians. Sembat, Vard's son-in-law, was an Armenian prince, probably a scion of the Bagratids. Gevorg Pekan likewise was an Armenian. Pekan — Pighyanis — is the Persian word Paigan which means infantryman, used as a surname. Petros the Bulgar and his cousin Leo the Assyrian were likewise Armenians. The appellations Bulgar and Assyrian have no connection with their origins. Bulgar's cousin cannot be an Assyrian. Hovhannes Khald and Constantine Toxar, in all probability, likewise were Armenians. He is called Khald for having been born in Khaldik or having served there.

Hovhannes Khald may have been a Chaldian, namely a Laz, but since his other companions are Armenians we presume he too was an Armenian. Constantine is called Toxar, precisely Toxara. Lucian the Samostracian mentions a Sythian scientist by the name of Toxaris. If this is the same name, in all probability it was tacked on Constantine as a nickname. Without doubt it's an Iranian word, perhaps known on the Khaldian shores.

The most important among the conspirators are Basil's brothers Marian, Sembat, and his cousin Acila. We think he had a third brother named Vard. According to the historian, among the assassins of Emperor Michael were "Maranus and Vardas,

the father of Rector Basil, and Sembatius, the brother of Basil, and Acilaion, cousin of Basil."

Two of the conspirators, Yevlok and Apelatis are called Persians, but they are not Persians, but Perso-Armenians. That's the way Byzantine Armenians were called. In the Ninth Century, during the Arab domination, it is difficult to imagine a Persian in the service of the Byzantines, having accepted Christianity. Apelatis is not a proper name.

Another confederate of Basil was Artavazt, the commander of the foreign regiment. Basil's brother Marian was the Commander of the Imperial cavalry. These were the commanders of the two most powerful forces in the Empire, and therefore, once their support assured, it was easy to cause a revolution. The above-mentioned persons were friends of Basil, undoubtedly from the time he was serving in the foreign regiment under Andreas. The palace revolution was not a chance accident but a planned venture which enjoyed the confidence of the military circles. Enemies, no doubt, were not lacking, who did their best to distort the nature of the revolt and to disfigure the image of Basil.

The confused information and the biased gossip which has come down to us, woven around the name of Basil with good or bad intentions, either to praise or to discredit him, have clouded his real origin and the causes which contributed to his success.

The tales pertaining to this origin are associated with the name of Patriarch Photius. The first year of Basil's reign Photius lost the patriarchal throne but was reinstated in 877, after the death of his antagonist Ignatius. The real cause of Photius' dethronement was Basil's ecclesiastical policy which, to keep the peace with the Rome, forced him to sacrifice Photius who was an inveterate foe of the Pope and

was the principal cause of the schism. The fallen Patriarch tried hard to retrieve his loss, but to do this it was first necessary to win the Emperor's favor.

The biographer of Ignatius, Nicitus the Paphlagonian relates, to please the Emperor, Photius forged a geneology highly flattering to the Emperor. This was done when the former Patriarch was an exile at the Monastery of Skep. The forged document traced Basil's origin to King Tiridates, the celebrated collaborator of Gregory the Illuminator. Photius was an intimate friend of a monk named Theophanus Sbenodemon, the librarian of the Imperial Library, a man of vast knowledge and wisdom. Through him, Photius inserted his false geneology into the Imperial Library. It was a parchment inscribed in Alexandrian letters which the author had contrived to give it an ancient look. The geneology reachess down to Basil's father who, it said, would have a son, such as Basil, whose name would be BEKLAS.

The word BEKLAS, according to Nicitus the Paphlagonian, is made of the initial letters of Basil, his wife Eudocia, and their sons Konstantine, Leo, Alexander and Stephan.

One day Theophanus, while searching for a book the Emperor wanted, reported to him that he had accidentally come across a book written in ancient letters, very difficult to decipher. Theophanes was referring to Photius' book. While showing the book, Theophanus added that there was only one man who could read it, and that was the exiled Patriarch Photius. Seized with curiosity, the Emperor summoned Photius to his palace. Photius read the mysterious book as if inspired by an angel, to the Emperor's great satisfaction. This was how Photius rewon Basil's favor.

The only grain of truth in this insipid tale was the fact that Photius made an attempt to trace the Emperor's geneology. The rest

is sheer fabrication. As a man of great learning, and as an Armenian himself, being the nephew of Arshavir Kamsarakan and the intimate friend of Vard the Caesar, Photius was familiar with Armenian circles, and naturally, was in a position to verify Basil's geneology. The Patriarch, noted for his erudition, was not so devoid of ingenuity as not to be able to offer the Emperor a more plausible and convincing explanation than this pitiful play on words BEKLAS. On the other hand, Basil was not so naive as to swallow the obvious fraud. The tale even lacks the freshness of originality.

From all appearances Photius never broke with the Emperor to have any need of a reconciliation. Even after his dismissal he continued to enjoy the Emperor's affection and respect as a learned and virtuous man. By order of the Emperor, Photius was installed at the Palace as private instructor of his sons.

Basil removed Photius from his patriarchal throne out of political considerations, unwilling to strain his relations with the Pope whose good will he needed for his planned conquests. Nor had he any personal enmity, although he had reason to suspect him as the friend of Vard the Caesar.

There have been various legends woven around the name of Basil, attempting to prove his royal origin, most of them based upon the document ascribed to Photius, or at best influenced by that document, but all of which have been rejected by historians. Only one Arab chronicler, Tabar, has agreed with Photius that Basil was a scion of a royal dynasty but he traces him to Slavic origin because his mother was Slavonic. The word Slav, however, does not necessarily denote racial origin, but merely indicates that Basil's mother was a native of Adrianopolis. At that time Thrace and Macedonia were inundated with Slavic

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peoples, and consequently, they often are referred to as Slavonia.

Patriarch Eudecius of Alexandria, a contemporary of Tabar (923) and known by the name of Sayid-ibn-ul-Patrick (940) claims that Basil was not a royal scion because he was a Slavon. Massoud (950) repeats the same and at the same time seconds Tabar that Basil was called a Slavon because his mother was a Slav.

The word Slavon, was used, in the same sense that Basil was called a Macedonian. Testimonies of this kind are of no intrinsic value since they are mere hypotheses which explain why Basil was called a Macedonian. It was not merely because his mother was a Macedonian but there was also the presumption to liken Basil with Alexander the Macedonian. The mother, at all events, was not a Slav by race but, at best, came from a Slavic country, namely Adrianopolis.

There is another tradition among Armenian circles in regard to Basil's descent which has been preserved by Asoghik: "They say of him he came from the village of Til in Taron." These words need not necessarily convey the idea that Basil was a common peasant. The idea that Basil was of obscure or lowly origin, as Byzantine writers are inclined to prove, must be dismissed once and forever. All those Armenians who became actors in the Byzantine drama almost exclusively belonged to the Armenian nobility, most of them being Mamikonians. When in the 8th century the Mamikonians ceded the arena to the Bagratids they were forced to retire to Byzantium. But even before that they had been attracted to the west by that great Christian state.

Anciently Taron was the property of the Mamikonians but later it passed into the hands of the Bagratids. By the 8th century, as a result of political developments, the region of Taron was completely under Bagratid domination. Here reigned Ashot

Bagratouni, the son of Issac, the same Ashot who opposed the rebellion. The new capital of Taron was the City of Khlat.

It is quite probable that the last remnants of the Mamikonians still lingered in Til and from there, pressed by the Bagratids, withdrew to Byzantium. If the man called Humayyak, mentioned by Photius, is not a figment of the imagination, he must have come from the village of Til in Taron. In the contrary event, if Humayyak is not a historic figure, the family which migrated from Til must have been Bagratids.

Thus, the Arshakuni (Arsacid) origin of Basil is historically indefensible, because that house was extinguished long before. There were only two ancient and outstanding princely families on the scene, the Mamikonians and the Bagratids, one shining in Byzantium and the other in Armenia. In all probability Basil's family stemmed from these. The name Humayyak is reminiscent of the Mamikonians, while Sembat, which is the name of Basil's brother, inclines toward the Bagratid house.

The Macedonian cities and Adrianopolis were merely temporary residences of Basil's parents. In the battles fought in this arena it was customary for the military to sharpen their swords and carve their way into higher posts, not even excepting the imperial throne.

There are scholars who, while rejecting Basil's Arsacid origin, go even farther and indiscreetly deny his Armenian origin. Especially the Slavic historians are inclined to detect in Basil Slavic blood. Some of them have insisted that Basil was a pure Slav, or had descended from a Hellenized Slavic family.

These biased opinions were given the knife once and for all by a new source, *The Life of Eudemius*, in which it is said, "Stilianos, Armenian name Zaoudzas, was a Macedonian but Armenian in origin, the same as the Emperor himself. This man was



the favorite of Basil and his son and successor Leo, and during the latter's reign attained to a high post, being called Father of the Emperor. Besides, his daughter married Emperor Leo. Some have identified Stilianos' Armenian name of *Zaoutzas* with the (Turkish) word *Chavoush* but this is wrong. It seems Stilianos is the son or close relative of Strategos Tzantzis which is familiar to us. *Zaoudzi* should be read *Tzantzis*. We have already seen that he was a Macedonian Strategos under whom Basil served. The explicit testimony of the *Life of Eudemius* leaves no doubt as to Basil's origin.

There are ancient rumors also in regard to Basil's family or marital life, to be precise. Basil ascended the throne under circumstances which precluded him from enjoying wide sympathy. The crime he had committed was enormous and its effect still fresh, a circumstance which provided a fertile soil for enemies. Basil's enemies did not hesitate to blemish his name and family honor with wanton gossip.

Basil was married when he befriended Michael. It is related that Michael separated him from his wife whose name was Mariam and married him to Eudocia Inger who was his concubine or mistress. It is also related that Michael made it a condition with Basil that this was only a nominal wife, leaving the right to marital intercourse to Michael himself. As a compensation, he put his sister Thecla at the disposal of Basil.

Basil had four sons and four daughters. Evil tongues spread the rumor that the first two sons, Constantine and Leo were fathered by Michael and not Basil. Constantine was engaged to be married to Louis' daughter Hermingart, and in this connection Louis' ambassador already was in Constantinople. Constantine died in 879 while the engagement took place in the years 870 or 871. At this time Constantine

should have been at least 15 to be eligible for marriage, which means he should have been born in 855, whereas Basil married Eudocia shortly before Caesar Vard's assassination, about 865. The question is, what connection could Constantine, born some ten years before Basil's and Eudocia's marriage, have had with that marriage? It is plain that Constantine was born of the first wife Mariam, and not Eudocia, and therefore, the malicious gossip was without foundation. While recording these rumors, the historians have deemed it more probable that Constantine was Basil's son.

Equally groundless is the rumor about Leo. If we believe the historians, Emperor Michael had intimate relations with Eudocia Inger before her legal marriage. It was in order to sever this relation that Empress Theodora and the Eunuch Theoctist decided to marry Michael to another Eudocia who was more modest, coming from the Decapoli family. Theoctist was assassinated in 856 which places Michael's marriage at 855 or 854, whereas, Basil married Eudocia Inger, as was mentioned, in 865 or shortly before. Michael lived with his wife more than ten years and had no children from her, nor from his legal wife. Eudocia married Basil in 865 and on September 1, 866, she gave birth to Leo. Thereafter she gave him two more sons and four daughters. Can there be any doubt that he was their father, and not Michael? Of course not, if we do not want to sin against integrity.

Moreover, this whole story about Eudocia is pure slander. She suffered because she had tied her fate with Basil. It was to hurt Basil that Eudocia was represented as Michael's mistress. If Emperor Michael was really in love with Eudocia, what prevented him from marrying her instead of delivering her to another, reserving to himself the right of a clandestine and illicit love under such an unnatural and more than comical pretext?

These frivolous tales in the capital had spread as far as Alexandria. Patriarch Eutyches relates that, when they asked Basil why he killed Michael, the latter gave the following explanation. Michael was presumably in love with a woman and commanded him to marry her on condition he, Michael would have the sole right of approaching her. He did not want his wife to know of this illegal tie; on the other hand he could not marry her while his real wife still lived. Basil carried out the Emperor's command but later regretted it and killed him.

This argument is wholly valueless. The Byzantine Court was not a garden of virtue, nor of legal scrupulosity. Michael himself was a model of the licentious and profligate prince. If he really wanted it, he could easily have deserted his wife and taken another women, as done by the emperors before and after him. Neither his wife nor his mother could have stopped his caprice. Even the patriarchs were impotent to restrain the emperors in such matters.

Eutyches' story proves another thing, that is, according to rumors a political revolution had taken place because of a love affair. In other words, Michael had an illicit passion for Basil's wife and was punished by her husband. That circumstance lends force to our suspicion that Eudocia was never such a frivolous woman as she has been represented to us, and that she

never was Michael's mistress. Eudocia chose Basil of her own will, and not at the command of Michael. Otherwise the latter, after ascending the throne, would never have kept her.

Basil's life needs more critical study and impartial elucidation than it has been given to date. The history which has come to us is an accumulation of gossip, slander and distortion. It needs critical examination with an unbiased eye to separate the wheat from the chaff. The question of Basil's origin and the likes of him is not a superfluous quibble for history, as it may seem to many. Byzantinism, as distinct from its preceding civilization, was due to the united cooperation of various nationalities under one state. To determine the contribution of each nationality element means the elucidation, the true understanding of Byzantinism.

Speaking of the Armenians specifically, it is our aim to clarify the role of Armenian state figures who distinguished themselves in Byzantine history with such extraordinary vigor of mind and arms. Were these mere blackguards of fate, knight errants who, persecuted and driven from the fatherland, were in quest of adventures on the high roads without reckoning the consequences, or were they on the contrary, the bearers of the Armenian constructive spirit, dedicated souls who spared no effort to rebuild the empire and who rightly became its true architects?



# PROF. BLAKE'S ORIGINAL TRANSLATION OF 'ANUSH'



## ON PROF. BLAKE'S TRANSLATION OF ANUSH

By JAMES G. MANDALIAN

*Editor, The Armenian Review*

During 1922-24 when I was a graduate student at Harvard University it was my privilege to study under Dr. Blake. Having learned that I was an Armenian, one day Dr. Blake confided in me that he was translating the famous Armenian Poet Hovhanness Toumanian's highly popular poem *Anush* into English. Quite a linguist, aside from his mastery of the English, French, German and Russian languages, he also had a fair knowledge of the languages of Caucasus, including the Armenian.

Toumanian's poem, having been written in one of many dialects of the Armenian language, offered some difficulties. There were many words, some foreign and some purely vernacular, which had to be checked and rechecked in order to determine their exact meaning. And here was where I came in. Dr. Blake did the entire translation, I merely helped him, as much as I could, in penetrating Toumanian's meaning.

Soon after Dr. Blake died his student, Dr. Richard Frye, one day brought me a manuscript, the copy of Dr. Blake's original translation of *Anush*, which he thought we might publish in *The Armenian Review*. But the type had so faded that it was hardly legible, and in despair I set it aside. After a long time Mr. James H. Tashjian of our editorial staff saw the manuscript and volunteered to reconstruct it. With the aid of magnifying equipment he pored over it until he succeeded in reconstructing the whole work. After I had checked it with the original Armenain line by line, and had made some retouches and rewriting, Mr. Tashjian and I carefully went over the product and this is the result.

With the exception of one or two couplets which I retranslated in order to bring it closer to the original, and with the exception of one omitted part, which likewise I completed, the rest of this translation is Dr. Blake's work. In his translation, Canto VI, Song XXVII, the passage beginning with the lines "I thank thee good stranger," and ending with "I don't love you anymore," was missing. The completion of that missing part is mine.

There may be some other variant of Dr. Blake's translation of *Anush*, but as far as we know this is the authentic original version.

# Anush

BY HOVHANESS TOUMANIAN

TRANSLATION BY PROF. ROBERT PIERPONT BLAKE



## PROLOGUE

(The evening of Ascension)

*Astride of a slender beam of light,  
Borne on the wings of the breeze they glide  
The fairies on the mountain crest  
Gathered at eventide.*

*"Come, sister spirits of the hills,  
That roam the frowning rocks,  
And sing the youthful lovers' dirge,  
And their untimely end.*

*"In silence great, from seven springs,  
The maid her pitcher filled;  
Of seven plants the flowers she's plucked,  
And a wreath of love she wove.*

*"The water and blooms to the stars she  
gives,  
To them she makes her prayer;  
With a heavy heart her prayer she makes  
That they on her love should smile.*

*"Alas Anush, thou mountain flower  
Alas — for thy lover so brave!  
Alas for thy form so arrowy straight!  
Also for thy eye's sea-dark wave!"*

*Together with them their hearts and eyes  
Filled up with grief and woe  
The mountain flowers, like martyrs sad,  
Sighed forth to the eventide.*

*"Alas, Anush, alas, our sister!  
Alas for thy lover! Alas for thy love,  
Alas, Saro, alas my brave  
Woe to thy mountains beloved.*

*— Come, sisters, spirits beautiful,  
That haunt the mountains grim."  
The fairies thus the evening through,  
They chant their mournful hymn.*

*They trilled their song so marvelous,  
In words enchanting fair;  
But when the rays of the sun shone forth,  
No trace of them was there.*

*One sank into the spring's deep pool;  
One hid in the hollow oak;  
Another dove into the bubbling wave  
That pulls in the mountain creek.*

## CANTO ONE

*Again it draws me, earnestly calling,  
The sleepless call of that paradise:  
And, spreading its wings to their fullest  
span,*

*T'is home that my spirit swiftly flies —  
Thither where round my fathers hearth  
They are waiting all and watching for me,  
Where tales are told in the winter nights*

*Of the giants of old in fair Lori.*

*There are the peaks so huge, so proud  
Form the reeling rank of the giants' dance —  
The giants encircled against the heaven  
Rejoice, just as at the mighty bridal  
Of the daughter so fair of rich Aragats,  
When Dev El, Dev Bet and the rest of  
their crew*

## ON HOVHANESS TOUMANIAN

Hovhaness Toumanian, one of the towering figures in Armenian literary history, was born in the village of Dusegh, province, of Lori, Armenia, February 7, 1869. After receiving his elementary education from his father, the respected village priest, he studied with Tigran Varjapet, and later spent a few tumultuous terms at the Nersesian School before being expelled because of what has been described as "his rebellious temperament".

Toumanian started when he was ten though the cares of large family (he 1888) often drove occupations, literature remained his one compelling life. When death Toumanian left behind an enormous edition of the prolific and talented his poems were collected and printed in Constantinople in 1923.

Critics reckon his masterpieces to be his *Tumkaberdi Aroushoun ou Gadoun*, *Parvana*, *Hokehanteghe*, *Akhtam*. Many of these have been translated into Georgian. Prof. of *Anoush*, the



HOVHANESS TOUMANIAN

ed writing poetry years of age; and providing for a was married in him to non-literature remained his love throughout his took him in 1923, hind an enormous There has been no plete works of this ed writer, although collected and printed in 1923.

Toumanian's masterpieces *Sassountzi David*, *me*, *Hin Grive*, *Gatil Muh Megher*, *kist*, *Lousavortchiar* and *Anoush*. great works have to Russian and Blake's translation writing of which

was completed by Toumanian in 1892, is its first into English.

*Nazar the Brave* (The Armenian Review, issue No. 3, 1948), *The Talking Fish* (No. 15, 1951), and *The Happy Cobbler* (No. 32, 1955) are examples of Toumanian's prose work.

*Mad daring kings of this ancient land,  
Stole the maid away from her father's  
house,  
And took her to Lori, which no foe can  
scale.*

II

*O ye friends of my youth, o ye mountains  
so green,  
Again have I seen you, ye come to my mind:  
There come forth to greet me those days of  
old,  
Those faces so dear, which no more can I  
find.  
They have passed like those flowers of  
varied hues  
Which bloomed last spring on the moun-  
tains breast.  
I greet ye, O thoughts of my childhood days.  
Come ye forth once more from the graves,  
from the gloom!  
Come forth, let me see you, touch, near you  
again;  
Awaken to life and live ye once more!  
Infuse in the poet his loftiest strain!*

III

*From the caverns dark of the moss-covered  
crag,  
From the voiceless depths of the rocky dells,  
Comes the ringing laugh of my youthful  
years;  
I hear the echo as forth it rolls,  
The joyous sound of the field peals forth,  
The smoke puffs up from the cabin well-  
known,  
And lo! they are all awakened to life —  
They come forth from the gloom to the  
joyous dawn,  
And there, on the fresh dewy mountains  
breast —  
But heark ye! Give care! The shepherd  
sings.*

IV

*Oh godless maiden, sit thou at home!*

*Why comest thou forth to drive me mad?  
Thou hast made me a minstrel, no peace  
gave  
Composing my songs,  
O'er the fields I must stalk,  
My sheep are untended  
While the pastures I walk.*

*Ah me! My heart with love hast thou fired  
Thy vagrant hairs they fetter my feet;  
No more can I stand it, by force will I steal  
thee —  
O flower of the mountain!  
O maiden sweet and fair!  
O thou that hast the rosy cheek,  
Anush of raven hair!*

*Should thy father and mother deny thee to  
me,  
My blood like a river it will flow;  
Disappear I will in mountains rugged,  
For my love for thee  
O maid of the black eyes,  
Maid of the deep sea eyes,  
O maid of the arched brow.*

V

*'Twas Saro who sang: the maid could not  
sit  
At rest within the hut.  
"Who is it, mother, who calls to us?  
Hast thou not heard? Give ear and see!"*

*"Enough, Anush, come in, my dear;  
Stop this looking out, looking hither and  
yon —  
A thousand people are laughing and talk-  
ing!"*

*"O, mother, see, on the mountain's breasts,  
How the sorrel has grown so green and  
high!  
Mother, let me pluck it and weave it fine;  
I'll sing 'Jan Gulum' on the mountain side!"*

*"Be quiet, Anush! Thou art a maiden  
grown;*

## ON PROFESSOR ROBERT BLAKE

Robert Pierpont Blake was an internationally-known professor of history at Harvard, former director of the University's library, and an authority on Byzantine history and Caucasian languages before death took him on Tuesday, May 9, 1950, at the age of 63.

An able researcher in ancient lore, Prof. Blake had studied in Czarist Russia before the first World War, specializing in Byzantine civilization. It was during this period of study that he met Prof. N. Marr, who was instrumental in interesting him in Armenian antiquities and literature.

Through the a thorough ac-languages of and western the basis for his and articles on

Prof. Blake, in as a senior fel-barton Oaks Re-and Collection from its found-Harvard history 1930, he was as the University ministrative

He was Har-Library Direct-1937, and was a Harvard Uni-

Prof. Blake Francisco, Nov-and was gradu-University of 1908. A year lat-his M.A. degree his doctorate in awarded the ti-

at the University of Petrograd in 1919, where he also taught. He was later a member of the faculty at the Russian University of Tiflis and the Tiflis Poly-technical Institute. In 1920, he married Miss Nadezhda Kryzhanovskaya, a native of Georgia who, as well as their son Igor Robert Blake, survives him.

Prof. Blake returned to the United States to join the Harvard teaching  
(See page 27)



PROF. ROBERT BLAKE

years he gained quaintance with both the eastern world. This was later pursuits manuscript texts, addition, served low of the Dum-search Library in Washington ing. Appointed professor in sociated with in several ad-posts.

vard University or from 1928 to syndie of the versity Press.

was born in San ember 1, 1886, ated from the California in er he received at Harvard and 1916. He was tle of Magistrant

What hast thou to do with a shepherd lad?  
Sit in the cabin and do thy work!  
Sit properly, daughter! Shame to thee,  
shame!

"O darling mother, I know not why;  
I want either to weep, cast down and sad,  
Or else I wish to take wings and soar  
I know not whither, I know not where. . .  
Mother, dear Mother, what shall I do then?  
What can your restless, sleepless daughter  
do?"

I prithee, Mother dear, let me take the  
pitcher  
And join the girls to the spring."

# VI

With jugs on the shoulder go fluttering  
down  
The maids to the spring below;  
With hands upon the shoulders linked,  
While songs o'er the mountains go.

From 'neath the bank the water wells;  
It boileth o'er in foam —  
Whose lover is that who sits and weeps,  
And sobs on the mountain combe?

Ye waters cold, ye waters clear,  
Who spring from the mountains' brink,

In their course the fields and the meadows  
they pass —  
From them my love did drink?

Ah, has he quaffed, or has it cooled,  
The love in this burning breast?  
Will it ever cool, will it ever calm,  
The heart's sleepless pain to rest!

"Maiden, thy lover has come and gone,  
Inflamed and exalted by love of thee;  
His burning heart has come and gone;  
The icy water has not stilled it. . ."

'Neath the cloud bank the water wells;  
It boileth o'er the foam —  
My lover dear is weeping here,  
And sobs on the mountain combe."

# VII

'Twas on a sudden: the mother old  
Felt steal o'er her heart a gloomy care;  
"Where is she? Anush has taken her jug;

## PROF. ROBERT P. BLAKE (Continued from previous page)

staff in 1920. His works include translations and editions of Armenian, Greek and Georgian religious and lay texts. Just before his passing, he collaborated with Prof. R. N. Frye in the precedental English translation of the Armenian monk Grigor of Akanc' "History of the Nation of the Archers" (see The Armenian Review, vol. IV — No. iii-15, for text).

Prof. Blake was a fellow of the American Philosophical Society and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was formerly a Chairman of the American Society of Learned Societies.

An outspoken admirer of the Armenian people and their culture, Prof. Blake nevertheless was not "discovered" by the people he so admired until just before his untimely passing. In 1949, he was among the first notables to be honored by an Armenian Youth Federation of America Citation — "for contributions to Armenian study and research". At that time, he confided to a former student that the fact his "Armenian friends" were honoring him made the occasion "one of the happiest" in his experience.



*She went to the spring and has come not from there.*

*The clouds have gathered, the peaks are veiled;*

*The valleys are filled with their friendly embrace —*

*A thousand evils and worries and robbers,  
A thousand young gallants roam 'round this place."*

*The aged woman rose suddenly up:*

*"Where art thou, Anush — may they cut off your hair!"*

*From the head of the valley, her hands to her brow,*

*To her child so rash she calls in despair:  
"Black-hearted maid, where hast thou vanished?"*

*Will a lone maiden venture into the dark?  
The clouds close in, the darkness falls;  
How wert thou lost that I cannot find thee;  
Hol my daughter Anush, my child, come here!"*

*She beats on her knees, and sighs forth, alas!*

*At the head of the valley she stands, uncertain,*

*And gazes below with a heart full of care;  
The clouds have gathered, the peaks are veiled;*

*The valleys are filled with their soft embrace —*

*A thousand evils and worries and robbers,  
A thousand gallants roam 'round this place.*

### VIII

*"Let me go! They are calling me . . . mother will know. . ."*

*"No, Anush, stay a moment, one moment more!"*

*"No, let me go! O, how stupid I am,  
Thou lovest me not, as much as I do,  
I alone suffer and weep by myself  
Whilst thou singest thy songs on mountain slopes. . .*

*Long long since me hast thou forgotten."*

*"How long since I came here and stood frozen,*

*Waiting, waiting for thee, cruel one,  
My eyes turned into water from waiting."*

*"Thou hearest me not,*

*Thou pitiest me not,*

*Thou seest not*

*What is happening to me,*

*I am burning,*

*Turning into a flame,*

*I am melting down,*

*Turning into water,*

*I know not*

*What I am turning into*

*If I continue*

*To remain like this.*

*They say the willow*

*Was a maid like me;*

*She awaited her lover*

*And he came not to see her, see?*

*Poor thing, in a tremble*

*She bent hopelessly down,*

*From grief she withered*

*And a willow became.*

*Over the waters*

*Hanging her head,*

*She trembles still*

*And softly weeps,*

*And the whole year through*

*She thinketh alone*

*How her darling lover*

*Hath forgotten her."*

*"Anush, oh Anush, what art thou saying?"*

*Hast then thou not heard*

*The songs that I sang on the mountain's slope?*

*With whom was I speaking then?*

*When I trill on my pipe at eventide,*

*To whom is it that I call?*

*When uncertainly sitting and waiting for her,*

*With whom then am I?*

*And when I sigh and say alas!*



Whom have I then in mind?  
O Anush, Anush, thou godless Anush!"  
The shepherd sighed, and sank him back,  
Fell limp and lay still.

# IX

"Anush, my daughter, Anush, come  
home. . .!"  
The mother called, called and sighed again.  
"I'm coming, I'm coming, mother  
mine. . .!"

Rang the voice of the girl from out the  
ravine.

With hair in disorder about her neck  
And tangled across her reddened cheeks.  
Out from under the fleecy cloud  
Like a frightened fawn Anush leaped forth.

Her pitcher she brought back again, un-  
filled,  
While the pad for her shoulder was no  
more there —  
She had left it below by the water's edge —  
O thou young and careless maiden!

"I was frightened, mother!" complained  
the girl;  
She wishes to weep, but weep she cannot.  
"Mother, I saw some men below;  
I thought that some Turks were bathing  
there!"

Angrily scolded the mother old,  
Her forgetful and timid Anush.  
And scolding her the mother descends,  
With the empty vase on her shoulder old.

# CANTO TWO

## X

(The Morning of Ascension)

Ascension is here and the lovely flowers  
Cover the fields with a carpet fair;  
In bevvies the maids to the hills go forth  
To cast their lots with a joyous song.

"Ascension's come, O meadow,  
Meadow, dear meadow;  
Black mountains, meadow,  
Meadow, dear meadow."

Blending song and scent,  
Holding arm in arm  
They adorn the heights,  
Gleaning blossoms fair,  
Flutter 'round the flowers  
Like gay butterflies.

"Ascension's come, O meadow,  
Meadow, dear meadow;  
Good, old days, meadow,  
Meadow, dear meadow."

Ascension has come  
With its carpet of flowers,  
We ask of our fate:

"Who is to be ours?"  
"Lad, dear shepherd lad, whose wilt thou  
be?"  
"God knows, the world knows, that thou  
art for me!"

Come, maiden comely,  
Draw thy fortune fair,  
Thy gallant lover  
We will praise in song.  
With sprouting moustaches, with figures so  
tall,  
What care can I have while he is alive?

"Ascension's come, O meadow!  
Meadow, dear meadow;  
Hearts of fire, meadow,  
Meadow, dear meadow."

The songs they resound, the hearts are re-  
joiced  
And, forming a circle, they draw the lots.  
For one maid is fulfilled her dream and her  
love;  
For another, her longings are utterly lost.

## XI

Again the turn of the lot comes round

To the Mother of flowers who wears the veil;  
 "Jan Gulum" rings forth from the youthful breasts,  
 The flowery mountains return the hail.

"O maiden with the raven hair,  
 O maiden of the hills,  
 Like a bolt hits thy love  
 Him who dares to love thee.

"O, what a black fate hath befallen thee,  
 Hapless sister mine, beautiful Anush!  
 Broken be the hand which drew the lot."  
 Thus all stood amazed and passing aghast.

"Mind not, little sister, believe it or not:  
 A chance-spoken, ill-omened word was that;  
 Break not thy heart o'er a trifling thing;  
 Go on with the game: sing us 'Jan Gulum'."

"Ah, no! I know fortune is not for me;  
 Never, ah never, can it be mine;  
 Always unfortunate shall I remain;  
 From my youngest days have I been 'neath  
 a curse,

They say that one day in the cradle I lay,  
 And a dervish old came up to our door;  
 After singing a song he asked for food;  
 My mother gave him nothing to eat:  
 "'Begone,' said she, 'Begone from our door.  
 My child will burst — go away — get out!'  
 The dervish then laid a curse on me,  
 That from that day on my life should pass  
 in tears. . .

O, that was the dervish's heartless curse;  
 And God, he knows what my lot will be!  
 My heart, it is closed, my heart, it is dark;  
 What it is, I know not, awaiting me."

"Don't grieve, Anush, and be not stubborn;  
 Our hands drew forth a meaningless lot;  
 A crack-brained dervish, a stupid curse,  
 Be calm, little sister, and fear not so;  
 For thee thy life's in thy shining spring,  
 And for thy youthful maidenhood,  
 Joyful days will thy future bring;

Mind not, little sister, believe it or not:  
 A chance-spoken, ill-omened word was  
 that;

Break not thy heart o'er a trifling thing;  
 Go on with the game: sing us 'Jan Gulum'."

(The Group Sings)

Maiden dowed with fortune  
 Blessed is thy love,  
 Blessed are thy coal-black eyes  
 That o'er the mountain rove.

Ascension's come O meadow!  
 Meadow, dear meadow!  
 Black-days, dear meadow!  
 Meadow, dear meadow!

My life a gift to thee,  
 A spring in blossom thou art,  
 Behind thee stands thy lover,  
 Sturdy as an oak tree.

Ascension's come O meadow!  
 Meadow, dear meadow!  
 Tall lovers, meadow!  
 Meadow, dear meadow!

(Anush Alone)

Alas! My fate is calling me;  
 Whither it runs, I cannot know.  
 From its cold voice a shudder runs,  
 Across my heart of grief and woe.

Ye too, ye lovely mountain flowers,  
 Have too a woe untold;  
 Your little eyes are filled with tears  
 Your hearts are dark and cold.

Alas; The flowers of this earth,  
 Have grief to bear in vain;  
 They are trampled on and wither,  
 While their hearts are

(The Group From Afar)

Ascension's come O meadow!  
 Meadow, dear meadow!  
 Burning pangs, meadow!  
 Meadow, dear meadow!

# CANTO THREE

## XII

One evening in winter a wedding took place;

In rejoicing unbounded the village was plunged.

To the village the youthful shepherds had come down

To look at the maidens, to wrestle and dance.

After the dancing an ample space

In the spacious square was cleared.

The piper trilled for the wrestling bout;

Young and old were excited, raising a chant:

"Pull him out there!" they cried. "Pull him out! Pull him out!"

By force they dragged out two men for the bout;

The one was Saro, the other Mosi,

Anush's oldest brother, the lamb-herd.

The village is all drawn up like a wall,

Split and divided into two camps.

Each of the parties its champion chooses,

In the rear of their men they take their stand,

From both of the parties they shout and their call;

"Stand up to him boldly and fear not, lads all!"

From behind the veil of the new-wed bride,  
The bride and the maids stand and peep forth.

The youths they boil with eagerness,  
Their coattails within their belts they stuff;  
On the earth they beat with their hands so stout,

And, steaming with rage, they meet with a crash,

'Twas the custom in these valleys dark

Obedient aye to the ways of old,

That a lad his comrade should never throw  
Before the village's eyes.

With arms about the other fast, Saro pulled  
and Mosi;

To earth they fell and wallowed there;

Together they rose again;

As though it were hard to defeat the other.

In vain the crowd went wild with shouts;

In vain the breathless maids observed;

In vain Anush her breath restrained.

Cold as a graven image she stood,

As she stood there Saro her saw;

His heart beat strong and fast,

Before his eyes there swam a mist,

Law, comrade, world, he all forgot;

And while Mosi, his wrestling mate,

Was merely playing and giving no heed,

A heave Saro gave, a twist of the knee,

He grassed his comrade and knelt on him.

The crowd burst forth with shove and shout,

The youthful contestants they raised to their feet.

In a shouting burst of joyful mirth,

The victor is brought to the bridegroom's couch.

From the joyful voices and beat of applause,

The walls and the ceilings tremble and shake.

And behind the veil of the new-wed bride,  
The maid and her friends look forth.

## XIII

Mosi arose, with rage in his heart;

"Let me at him," he roared, "to grapple again!"

Or else, the traitor, I swear by the sun,

Again he will never escape from my hands!

He didn't down me, he led me astray;

Let the ring be reopened, I'll at him again. . ."

From all sides came a roar of mirth;

With biting laughter they called and they cried:

"No go! No go!  
 You can throw him no more,  
 Mosi took a spill  
 Like a pig on the floor.  
 Ha, ha, ha, boys,  
 A very good throw,  
 Brush the dust off his back,  
 Let him have another go!  
 Ha, ha, ha, boys,  
 Brush the dust off his back. . .!"

## XIV

From the sounding hall of the bridal feast,  
 Mosi went forth, stabbed through with a  
 blade;  
 Fast roiled his blood in the gloomy breast,  
 His gait was hasty, its steps they swayed.  
 "Mosi, O shame, disgrace and blame,  
 To thee as a gallant lad!  
 Will they mention thy name, will they look  
 at thy frame?  
 Thy back had ne'er met the earth;  
 How thou didst fall like a mountain peak!  
 Thou — to squirm 'neath the knee of Saro!  
 After this to the women canst show thy-  
 self?  
 Hath ever such trouble come down on thy  
 head?  
 For all the village a jest thou art.  
 Go, then, die, or sink into the earth,  
 Or lie at home like a spinning whorl."

## XV

"Wai, wai, dear Mosi, slay me not!  
 After this I shall love him no more!  
 I fear thee — sheathe thy dagger again;  
 Like a leaf my heart is trembling sore!"  
 With tears (the sister) her brother implor-  
 ed,  
 Kneeling before him all helpless and pale;  
 Mosi, with his gleaming Kinjal in his hands,  
 Would cut her throat before her eyes.  
 "Swear me by thy name, thou woman vile,  
 That thou no more wilt love Saro.

If not, wilt thou see my drawn blade,  
 Plunged in thy heart to its very hilt?"

"Mosi, dear Mosi, I am dust at they feet!  
 I give thee my oath thy slave to be!  
 Saro no more will I love," said she;  
 "Seest thou how I kneel before thee in  
 tears?"

"Thou deceivest me, thou tellest me lies!  
 Him thou lovest not, thou sayest? What is  
 that

Then, when all are asleep,  
 Thou sobbest (alone) in the dark of night:  
 'Saro, dear Saro, Saro' doest thou say!"  
 "Mosi, dear Mosi, I'll do all that thou sayest,  
 Will love him no more, when thou wishest  
 it not.

In my dreams no more will I call to him.  
 O, kill me not — put thy dagger away!  
 Am I not thy sister? Art thou no my Mosi?"

## XVI

From the time of this wedding the brother  
 lads  
 Became foes and remained.  
 The friends and comrades came and went,  
 To reconcile them they were unable.  
 Mosi was resolved that while he should  
 live,  
 And behold the light of this world with his  
 eyes,  
 His sister own he should never see  
 In the arms of his traitor friend Saro.  
 Mayhap that Mosi in his sleepless rage  
 Desired his youthful sister to slay;  
 With the point of his dagger to tear from  
 her heart  
 The name of Saro and her secret love.  
 Who knows, perhaps, on this very same  
 even,  
 That the stubborn, unreconciled shepherd  
 lads  
 Could have driven the flocks from the  
 other's pastures —  
 Each on the other revenge to take.  
 Or else on a sudden it could have ensued

That the stock of the one or his field of  
grain,  
As the evening falls, could be seized by

fire,  
And, flaring to heavens, should scorch the  
stars.

## CANTO FOUR

### XVII

The clouds with the camels' lazy stride,  
Which have drunk at the spring, rise from  
out the ravine;  
O'er the stony crest of Zatin Dagh  
The edge of a new-born sun is seen.  
The village with tumult and shouting is  
filled;  
On the roofs the old wives in groups they  
stand;  
The youths run forth to the crest of the  
cliff,  
Grasping the guns in the midst by the hand.

### XVIII

There came to the valley a huge old man;  
'Mid the seething youth he takes his stand.  
And, puffing hard at his pipe he points,  
Down in the valley with steady hand.  
This is his tale. "Twill be midnight just;  
In my bed I had not closed an eye;  
The strength of my body is not what it was;  
All that was mine is now mine no more;  
Well, it was just as midnight struck,  
The dog made a rush to that side over  
there.

'Hey, hey!' I called, but no answer came;  
The dog was uneasy, kept dashing away —  
What is left of the former shepherd lad?  
I had early laid down in the empty fold,  
And as I was saying, could sleep no more;  
'Twould be exact at the midnight hour;  
Two shadowy figures of human shape,  
Fled before the dog and went down over  
there. . ."

As the lads heard this they flew hither and  
yon,  
Along the path which led down the ravine,

And below the entrance, aside from the  
path,  
The tracks of two persons were clearly seen.

### XIX

For the space of a month an armed band,  
O'er the hills and the vales had tramped;  
They seek the shepherd Saro to find,  
Who had come from the mountains and  
with Anush had decamped.  
When a month had passed, the youths came  
home,

With praise of the clever deed on the lip;  
"A true man is he, like a hero he acts,  
If thus with the maiden away he did slip."  
Anush's brother, Most, alone,  
Remained in the field. He had taken an  
oath,

What, where'er they might be, them togeth-  
er he'd find,  
And to calm down his wrath,  
He would slaughter them both.  
He remained in the field, and behold! one  
day,  
As the women were weaving and evening  
fell,

In secret, with clothing all rent and torn,  
Anush came forth from out of the dell,  
With hanging head and stricken air,  
Back to her father's home.

### XX

"Wardishagh, my dear, an thou lovest thy  
soul,  
Cast the barley for me and see what it will  
say!

May my eyes become dark, may I turn to a  
dream,  
Such a vision last night in my sleep have I  
seen!



*In a valley dark, in a valley deep,  
There stood the sheep of unhappy Saro.  
They spoke and they sang with a human  
voice;*

*The sound of that song an echo invoked.  
Cast me the grain, by thy son I implore!  
That this dream no good bodes I know only  
too well!*

*O merciful God, ope Thy gates to me!  
We are dust at Thy feet; Thy creatures are  
we!*

*The lambs are dumb in the darkened dale;  
They are singing a song and with voices  
they wail;*

*Before the lambs Saro's mother stood;  
She was dancing a dance: in her hands  
was a hood. . ."*

*"Manishak, my dear, an ill word hast thou  
said:*

*The grain it hath given an omen dread;  
This is good, this bad, and this is Saro;  
See, Saro hath an evil road to go.  
May God watch over the youthful lad!  
May God watch over his mother so sad!"*

## XXI

*And through the mountains there wanders  
and flees,  
Like a frightened deer, Saro.*

## CANTO FIVE

## XXII

*Anush is weeping, her face on the ground,  
The neighbors' women are gathered around.  
No words can they find for the maid dis-  
graced,*

*Ta'en away and brought back, the unfor-  
tunate girl!*

*Yet God was kind, for the brother rude,  
From the distant pastures had not come  
home.*

*But the gloomy and gray-haired father be-  
gan,*

*With foam on his lips, to spit and to curse:*

*His fate is before him, a bullet behind,  
The mountains are steep, and his comrade  
— a foe.*

*And when at the even in silence and stealth,  
He descends from the mountain, while  
darkness reigns,*

*The song that he chants is a plaint forlorn,  
To his comrades the mountains he sighs  
and complains.*

*"O ye mountains, mountains high!  
To ye I send my call of woe;  
O echo back again my cry,  
Partakers of my woe.*

*"A hunted thing, I sought retreat,  
Amid thy lofty dales.  
Would I could vanish without a trace,  
So weary am I of this world!*

*"Would I could vanish in exile lone,  
Wandering over the stony hills!  
Would I could die and be freed from these,  
Perhaps I should find calm and rest.*

*"Ah, gladly would I die, but she,  
Mayhap, of this would know;  
A captive would I be from grief,  
While she would remain in her woe."*

*"O brazen and shameless one, get thee  
hence!*

*May black and tears be thy bridal crown!  
Away — may my eyes never rest more on  
thee!*

*May thy slender figure be bowed to the  
earth!*

*Thou sawest how Most hateth him;*

*See, his father, thy mother wish not to see  
thee.*

*How many heads on thy shoulders hast  
thou,*

That when thee standest up, thou runnest  
after him?"

The peasants stream down from the roofs  
in a throng,  
To quiet the father's anger rude.  
Likewise the village priest appears,  
A venerable giant with hoary hair.

"Go forth! Out with you!" the Derder cries.  
"Leave Anush to talk alone with me.  
Let her tell me the thoughts of her mind  
and heart;

After this will the matter clearer be.  
Weep not, my daughter, confess to me  
Didst thou love him? Didst thou willingly  
fly?"

If thou lovest him, then grieve no more;  
Without fail shalt thou be married by  
me — "

"What did they cry? What was that? Don't  
look!

What was that sudden alarm outside?  
Who is killed . . . Mosi . . . ? When . . .  
Where . . . ?

Anush, O Anush, bring water . . . quick  
there . . . !"

### XXIII

As a torrent which suddenly rises high,  
And descends upon earth from heavens;  
Like a fierce and rushing blast of a storm,  
From the village the people rush forth in  
crowds

In the heat of their grief no questions they  
ask.

They sizzle as though they were driven by  
fear,

While horror before them gapes.  
The valley bubbles as though filled with  
blood.

In an instant the village empty stands,  
Impatiently grouped at the top of the crags,  
In silence and with beating heart they  
strain their ears,

They gaze below: no sound comes more:

The Derberd alone in its restless course,  
With muffled dirge sweeps down.

### XXIV

Out of the valley the slayer comes,  
With haggard face and swaying step;  
Horror drips down from his bloody eyes,  
His figure is wholly changed.  
Casting no look at the people's face,  
No word did he speak, but, gloomy and  
stern,

He came to the porch, on a pillar he hung  
The rifle black, like a serpent swart.  
The crowd transfixed was dumb with awe,  
No man there dared to move.

One soul alone burst wildly out,  
"Woe — woe . . ." she cried and tore her  
hair.

The dead shepherd's mother old was she,  
Insane from her grief she raved and wept.  
The unhappy parent! She rushed away.  
And out of the valley arose a dull cry.

### XXV

The mourning women after her  
Cry out and run down the ravine;  
Again they remember the dear ones lost,  
As around the corpse they press.  
In touching dirge the hero dead  
They wept with tears and blows.  
The silent gloomy lads remained,  
Seated near the bluff  
They wept above his breathless corpse,  
They wept for his masterless sheep,  
They wept for the fate of his hapless love,  
They bewailed his fate, as his comrades  
Into the fields shall go and call upon Saro  
When the hungry dogs from the mountains  
come

And howl on the roof and whine.  
The heavy crook with nailed head,  
Must grow black amid the ceiling beams  
The long kinjal must hang on the wall,  
To rust in its sheathe it remains.  
The hungry mother to the mountains cold  
Shall go forth not again without Saro.  
In mourning weeds she will sit at home,

*And remember what happened in bygone days.*

*There's not one word nor a memory dear,  
Which will not tear the heart of the aged  
mother.*

*The mother beseeched her son that was  
dead*

*To speak once again, to open his eyes.  
"Why speakest thou not, why lookst thou  
not at me?"*

*My day and my sun, my life and my soul,  
Why hast thou stolen my tomb from me?  
My son is my foe, a traitor is he!"*

*But the eyes that are closed will not open  
again,*

*The lips they are shriveled and cold;  
From out between them his teeth are seen;  
In a shining whitened row they gleam.  
The mother incensed with an impious curse,  
Reared up again heaven's hostile expanse.  
She blasphemed against it and beat her  
breast,*

*And called to him and wept:  
"For thee no more the sun is red,  
Saro jan!*

*For thee no more the leaves are green,  
Saro jan!*

*My sun has set, my night has come. . ."  
The darkness thickens fast  
The words so sad they die away,  
Grow weak and cease, while old Derbed,  
His gloomy dirge maintains alway.*

*O mournful river,  
Derbed so old,  
With broken heart,  
In thy foamy bed.  
On the stony bank  
By the hard rock alway,  
Still art thou beating  
And sobbing away!*

## XXVI

*And certain of the comrade youths,  
Below on the river's brim,  
They dig a grave with heavy heart;  
The earth they heap on him.  
The trees and flowers rustle there,  
And spread sweet odors 'round.  
There old Der-bed with mighty voice  
Chants forth his hymn profound,  
In silence and in gloom the youths,  
Go upward to their home,  
And leave behind a bare black mound,  
A lonely nameless tomb.*

## CANTO SIX

## XXVII

*Spring has returned and the birds are here,  
The flowers the mountains the valleys  
adorn,*

*A maiden has come, a reaper alone,  
On the bank of the river she wanders for-  
lorn.*

*As she wanders along with tears and prayer,  
A song she sings as she walketh there.*

*"O maid, so fair, why weep thee alone,  
As thou wanderest here alway?  
Why dost thou weep and walk down here,  
In the valley every day?  
If weeping thus a rose thou wishest,  
Just bide a while, and May will come;*

*If thou weepst for thy lover to come to thee,  
Alas! he is gone, he is gone!  
By crying and by weeping thus,  
Thy captive canst thou not return;  
And why in vain shouldst thou quench the  
flames*

*That in thy young eyes burn?  
For over his untimely grave, the spring's  
cold waters flow;  
Go thou and seek another love —  
This law alone the world can know."*

*"I thank thee good stranger, \*  
May God preserve thy love!*

\* The portion of the work beginning with this

She's standing there at road's end,  
The smile dancing in her eyes.  
Go on, enjoy your love  
With hearts happy and serene.  
To me the Lord hath given tears,  
And I must weep, I must weep.

"And she wanders along,  
Singing and weeping,  
Gloomy and incoherent,  
Bitter tears in vain.  
Yet she weeps and sings,  
Always the same strain  
So hollow and stupid,  
How the world changed so suddenly,  
How 'twas emptied of all life,  
Orphaned hills, without a shepherd,  
How he suddenly went away,  
Never to return, never to return!

"Come back, O my brave,  
Come back you godless one,  
Your pining lover's eyes  
Have turned into water.  
Herd your wandering sheep  
Toward home, toward home,  
Make haste by night  
To safety, to safety.  
Akh, on yon slope of the green hill  
Who's the lad who sleeps serenely?  
His black Yapouchi pulled over him,  
The lad who snuggles there.  
He's my love, my life, my soul!  
With rose's scent intoxicate,  
High on the hill, whipped by the breeze,  
Softly, softly, in sleep's embrace.

"Arise my brave,  
Arise thou cruel one,  
Round up thy sheep for the milking,  
'Tis midday, the time to sup,  
Arise my love, arise and off,  
My life a gift to thy return.

Arise shepherd with skin of tan,  
My longing deep to satisfy.

"Hear ye, hear ye, pipe tambourine,  
What wedding's is this, what procession?  
Merrymakers in snow and sleet,  
Prancing horses, hoofbeat in tune,  
Maidens, maidens, hearken to it,  
What vision's this that I have seen?  
Who e'er hath seen such a wedding,  
With neither bride nor a bridegroom?  
Lo, they are bringing him,  
Dear God, right in front of our home.  
Gently, gently lay him down,  
Let me tear off my hair over him,  
I too will go with him,  
Where are you taking him?  
Take me, take me with him,  
Bury me in his grave.

"Oh, No, No, they cry,  
That's only a corpse decayed,  
The blood clotted on his face,  
Motionless eyes, icy cold.  
Lovely he was and fragrant,  
Dancing eyes with the smile,  
He would come home dripping with the  
dew,  
Bubbling with jest and laughter.

"Arise my brave love,  
Arise thou godless one,  
The eyes of thy longing lover  
Have turned into water.  
Tarry no longer,  
Long have I waited,  
Do not make me cry,  
Much, much have I cried.  
See, how perturbed am I?  
I too am weeping,  
No more will I speak to you,  
I don't love you anymore."\*\*

## XXVIII

Unceasing dashes onward

line and ending with that line marked (\*\*) is the work solely of Mr. Mandalian. The Blake original incomprehensibly omits this passage.

\*\* Here ends the lacuna in the Blake original. See note above.

Derbed's turbid wave;  
 Upon its banks is decked with green,  
 The lonely hero's grave.  
 Around it his unhappy love  
 Pours forth her tears and woe,  
 And restlessly she wanders there  
 And calls to her Saro.  
 From night to dawn flow fast the tears  
 Of the unhappy maid;  
 But the youth so dear is no more here  
 He's dead, he's dead, he's dead!  
 The river washes by — "wush, wush!"  
 The flood is splashing free,  
 And calls to her, "Come here Anush!  
 To thy lover let me take thee. . .!"  
 The mother's voice from the heights rings:  
 "Anush, my daughter, Anush, come  
 home. . .!"  
 The valley is dumb in a silence dread;  
 And the grim Derbed is roaring alone.

Wush-Wush, Anush, my sister dear!  
 Alas for thy love and beloved!

Wush-wush, Saro, thou hero bold!  
 Alas for the mountain's beloved!

## XXIX

Ascension evening, that marvelous evening,  
 Is come so joyful and fair once more.  
 Heaven hath opened its golden gates;  
 All things below are silent and still.  
 The ineffable grace of the Lord above  
 Fills his creatures below with his holy love.

On the loftiest point of heaven's great vault,  
 That lovely evening, from out of the far  
 deep,  
 The stars of the lovers untimely dead,  
 Have mounted aloft, and on the heights  
 have met.  
 Once come, with longing they join in a  
 single <sup>1</sup> kiss,  
 Afar from the earth, on the azure dome.

<sup>1</sup> Reading *սի հալ ան ֆոյս* instead of the text's  
*սի հալ modestly*. — R. P. B.



# PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN EARLY ARMENIA

JAMES H. TASHJIAN

## Introductory Remarks

It would appear that the tumultuous and grievous experience of the Armenian people, by perhaps some divine alchemy, rather than driving the nation into the ghettos of despair and finally to self-imposed extinction, has produced a strong and vigorous race. The remarkable thing here is that, by all reasoning, if we are to measure matters by the weight of the catastrophes that have befallen these people since the dawn of recorded history, for all intents and purposes there should be no Armenians today. Their defeat should have been crushing, decisive, final.

What we have today, however, is hardly the picture of a defeated, broken, vanishing nation. A veteran in the arena of national competition, a gladiator participating in a never ending series of life and death contests, the Armenian has come through the tests of the years. The races of Media, Parthia, Assyria, Babylonia, Scythia and Hittiteland, all of which at one time or another were contemporaries, neighbors or foes of the Armenians, have vanished into the dark penumbra of history, but the Armenian remains. With Paul, the Armenian might remark:

... Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize. So run, that ye may obtain. And every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>. *Corinthians*, 9.24-25.

But it has taken more than a temperate national composure to sustain the Armenian people through a lifetime of calamities. Quite obviously, a high degree of moral courage, physical strength and stamina, and a steely discipline of both mind and body must have been ingrained in the nation from its earliest days. These qualities, which must be mastered by the athlete before the laurel wreath of the champion would grace his brow, are ingredients Armenians always have had, their critics to the contrary.

It would follow that such a people, endowed with more than the usual quota of courage, stamina, moderation and discipline in the grim game of national existence, would early manifest a lively feeling for physical education and its by-products, competitive sports and athletics. Britain's victories have been won on the playing fields of Eton and Harrow; and Armenia's existence may very well have been insured by an early Armenian preoccupation with the outdoors, the active life, with quasi-military body-toughening and coordinating activities, calculated at the same time to sharpen the mind to competition and combat.

It may very well be argued that the physical fitness of the Armenian was as much the effect of the character of the terrain they inhabited as it was a natural development of the continuing defense effort of the nation against foreign assault.

No soldier may fight the good fight if he is not physically fit; but it is even as true that no languid courtier nation could long endure the rigors of such a rugged country as Armenia, torn by deep valleys and ravines, and ruled by towering peaks and sprawling ranges. There is much new evidence on hand that the people of innermost Armenia from the earliest days were frequent visitors in neighboring and more distant lands; and it took stamina and courage to work the passes and defiles of Armenia in quest of barter, adventure or conquest. This is an interesting theme for



AN ASSYRIAN BAS RELIEF SHOWS URARTIAN TROOPS NIMBLY CLIMBING OVER THEIR RUGGED MOUNTAINS TO MEET THE INVADING ASSYRIAN (Figure far right)

the scholar and cannot be fully developed here; but the effect of the topography of the country, and its healthful, dry, warm, summers, and cold, crisp and snow-bound winters, on the psyche, physical characteristics, manners, customs and habits of the Armenians must have been immense. Most certainly, the natural phenomena of Armenia played a large role in making the Armenians an active, outdoor people.

One may ask, indeed, what type of people would they have been if, in viewing the breathtaking beauty of their land — the “sculpturesque” grandeur that fascinated Lynch,<sup>2</sup> and the abundant beasts of

the field and the fowl of the air and the fish of their lakes and streams — the Armenians would not have fallen in love with nature at an early date, and worshipped it as god.<sup>3</sup> The stunning natural wonders of Armenia were known to the neighboring peoples from early times, as attested to, for instance, in a famous passage of Moses of Khoren<sup>4</sup> who, in explaining why Semiramis, fabled queen of Assyria, aspired to build a summer home in Armenia, in effect memorialises the astonishment of the Assyrian soldier or traveler on beholding the majesty of the land. Sargon II paused in his “Armenian” campaign to note this scene:

... The mountain Mallau, the cypress mountain, robed in radiance, rises over the plain of Subi. . . On mount Uaush, a great mountain, which lifts its summit into the region of the clouds, in the midst of the heavens . . . a mountain peak which stands up like the blade of a dagger, and gullies and mountain precipices.<sup>5</sup>

To the early peoples of Persia, Armenia was *holy, pure and powerful*, if St. Martin's reading of the Avesta Zend word “Eeriemeno” as “Armenia” is correct. The French scholar remarks:

... Zoroaster (the reputed author of the Avesta) speaks of it (Armenia) with great praise and considers it the most important of those lands where he might establish his law; he calls Armenia *holy, pure and powerful*.<sup>6</sup>

Within “holy, pure and powerful Arme-

<sup>3</sup>. See discussion of this subject in Prof. Mardiros H. Ananikian, *Armenian Mythology*; in “Mythology of All Races” (Archaeological Institute of America: Boston, 1925); vol. VII, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup>. Moses of Khoren, *History of Illustrious Armenians*, I. 16. See below the story of Ara the Beautiful. Fragments of the early Armenian epic were preserved by Moses of Khoren, who apparently took them from the songs of the Koghtan bards, the famous early Armenian minstrels.

<sup>5</sup>. REVIEW readers may conveniently refer to this description as found in Dr. A. Safrastian's “*Armenian and Rome Between 200 B.C. and 325 A.D.*” (Part II, in AR, Vol. VII, No. 1-25); pp. 80-81.

<sup>6</sup>. M. J. St. Martin, *Memoires Historiques et Geographiques sur l'Armenie*, Vol. I, p. 269, note 1; Louis de Robert, *Etude Philologique sur les Inscriptions Cuneiformes de l'Armenie* (Paris, 1876), p. 17.

<sup>2</sup>. H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia, Travels and Studies* (London, 1901); Vol. II, p. 405.

nia", within this bowl of natural wonders and good health, there took root and thrived,

... a strong race, not only with vigorous nerves and sinews, physically active and energetic, but also of conspicuous brain power.<sup>7</sup>

An English scholar-traveler summed up what he had observed of the Armenian people in this language:

... If I were asked what characteristic distinguishes the Armenians from other Orientals, I should be disposed to lay most stress on a quality known in popular speech as *grit*. It is this quality to which they owe their preservation as a people, and they are not surpassed in this respect by any European nation.<sup>8</sup>

Grit ("guts" in modern terminology), strength, vigorous nerves and sinews, energy and activity — these are *athletic qualities*, it should be pointed out.

### The 'Athlete-type' in the Armenian Epic

The Armenian Herodotus, Moses of Khoren, in his celebrated "History of Illustrious Armenians", records a number of examples of oral traditions which must have been at one time parts of a great Armenian epic.<sup>9</sup> A study of these fragments shows clearly that there seems to have been in early Armenia a preoccupation with the glorification of the hero, and with those qualities that make the image of the hero.

For the most part, the ancient Armenian epic figures are men of great physical and moral strength, and beauty of person. Where the qualities of both strength and beauty were not to be imputed to the subject of the saga, the Armenian minstrel took special pains to point this out; but his manner of poking good clean fun at the un-

comeliness of the hero merely served to emphasise further — and indeed was meant to do so — the strength and courage of the subject. Physical and moral strength seem to have been favored over mere beauty; but it is remarkable that early Armenian epic literature contains none of the acrid denunciation of physical disfigurement and ugliness found, for instance, in the Greek myths. To the early Armenian, quite obviously it was wonderful if his great hero was a man of both moral and physical perfection; but he need not be an Apollo bodily if he were a man of the strength and the courage of, for instance, Tork, the fabulously ugly "governor" of western Armenia, of whom we shall speak later on.

Thus, too, the beloved but gluttonous Shara: "If thou hast the gullet of Shara," sang the minstrels of the legends, "thou has not the graneries of Shirag."<sup>10</sup> But this caricature is relieved by the thought that Shara was a strong, good and courageous man; and the reader may assume from the interesting reference that perhaps Shara derived his strength, virility, as well as his celebrated portliness, from his great capacity for food-stuffs. The thought then is: "Shara was a man who ate a great deal; but who really cares? For he was a good man, a man of remarkable strength." The contrast between the athletic quality of strength and the unathletic exercise at the dinner-table here merely serves to emphasise the former.

The Armenian epic fragments, in treating as figures of strength and manliness even the violent enemy, reveal an early cult-like Armenian affection for strength and courage. No Armenian Hercules ever slew an enemy inferior to him, and any valiant man, be he friend or foe, must be proclaimed! Hector may duel an Achilles, but never a Thersites!<sup>11</sup> Bel, the king of Assyria, was

7. Viscount Bryce, as quoted by Arshag Mahtesian, in, *Armenia, Her Culture and Aspirations* (Fresno, 1938); p. 6. In his, *Transcaucasia and Ararat* (London, 1896), p. 345, Bryce says: "A race (the Armenians) that has endured so steadfastly must have bone and sinew in it."

8. Lynch, *op cit.*, vol. II, p. 466.

9. See footnote 2, this study. The initials "MK" will be used for Moses of Khoren hereafter.

10. MK, I. 12.

an enemy, a tyrant, but he was also a great warrior; and to stress this, the Armenian tradition recorded that Bel, whom Haik, the fabled father of the Armenian nation, slew (a story to which we shall turn shortly), was none other than the Nimrod of the Holy Scriptures — "a mighty hunter before the Lord!"<sup>12</sup> In this clash of giants, of men of *athletic strength and beauty*, Haik, the more circumspect and better trained of the two — the more perfect athlete — won out! In his beating Bel-who-was-Nimrod, Haik attained greater glory and prowess than if he were to have been given a craven, broken old man for an opponent.

A very remarkable feature of the early Armenian epics is the transparently *athletic character* of the early heroes memorialised. Haik was a great archer, Tork was a notable weight-thrower, Vartkes was a man of tremendous strength, while Vahakn was the ideal Hellenic Armenian picture of the inspirational soldier-athlete. These undertones found in the Armenian epics appear to go a step further: they project an early Armenian interest in feats of strength, in outdoor activities, in competitive sports; and since these heroes may be assumed to have served as the model and inspiration of the youth of the Armenian highland in ancient times, even as the visions of Achilles and Ulysses monopolised the youthful day-dreams of Greek lads, then it can be assumed that physical education, and its natural by-products, sports and athletics, must have been practiced widely in Armenia of yore.

... Haik ... that prince known for his beauty, for his personality, for his great energy and vigor, that man renowned among giants for his valor and gallant figure ... a man of noble audacity.<sup>13</sup>

Here then, we have, in the founder of the Armenian nation, a perfect athlete type,

manly and beautiful, personable, with strength and stamina, a giant of man, valorous and dashing, not afraid to dare and do. These qualities are of course found in the champion. And again:

... Haik, that valorous and deliberate giant, that prince with curly hair and vivid eye.<sup>14</sup>

What this athlete-hero, whose physical description conforms so strikingly to that of Achilles, but whose disposition is so remarkably in contrast to that of the great Hellene, did to warrant such fulsome praise was eminently an athletic feat — as should be expected.

Haik had deployed his troops and, suprising Bel and his army, he,

... pressed forward, and reaching a spot close to the king (Bel-Nimrod), drew his sturdy long-bow and loosed a piercing arrow, fitted with a three-edged point, straight to Bel's chest-plate; the unusual shaft passed through him and fell to the ground.<sup>15</sup>

Haik, then, was a trained, expert archer, whose great strength allowed him to draw a great bow and project a heavy hunting arrow with such force that it passed cleanly through the armor and torso of the great hunter and fell free to the ground! This is the picture of a well-nigh indestructible man; and as is to be expected, Haik is said to have "lived a great many years"<sup>16</sup> — that is to say, his great body succumbed not to disease, but to old-age. And his sons and grandsons were like him "intrepid warriors armed with the bow", while their progeny's progeny through many generations, bore the heroic aspects of the great archer and the modest athlete, for we find Haik's son Kegham begetting Sissag:

... a person who became known for his noble pride, his strength and beauty, his eloquence, and his ability with the bow.<sup>17</sup>

Haig then was incarnate in his grandson

<sup>11</sup> *Iliad*, II. 217-219.

<sup>12</sup> *Genesis*, X.9. MK (I.7 & I.54) identifies "Bel" as "Nimrod".

<sup>13</sup> MK, I. 10.

<sup>14</sup> MK, I. 11.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> MK, I.12.

Sissag, who is said to have in turn fathered the great Siuni family, destined to play a large role in Armenian military and political history through the years. It is no wonder, then, that we find Haik, the Armenian prototype athlete-hero, and symbol of the earliest traditions of the people he sired, deified, translated to the stars,<sup>18</sup> and used by a later Christian writer to describe the beauty of the Holy Virgin!<sup>19</sup>

Let us note again that the tale of Haik bears directly with the establishment of the Armenian nation. The liberating battle he fought against southern tyranny is in itself an interestingly vicarious description of a "sporting contest".

Haik, we are told, was once a resident of a southern kingdom, but he left the place with his family and retainers out of protest of the tyranny of Bel, traveled to Armenia, and there established himself. Bel wanted him to return to the fold, Haig refused, whereupon:

... with the impetuosity of a torrent hurling itself from the summit of a mountain, Bel hastened to reach the frontiers of Haik's land with his arrogant and monstrous army.<sup>20</sup>

So Haik gathered his troops and harangued them in this fashion:

... In marching against Bel's army, let us endeavor to reach that place where brave Bel stands surrounded by the multitude of his soldiers. Should we be killed, our nation will fall into servitude to Bel; but should we signalize ourselves by the address of our arms, we shall scatter his army and be masters of the field.<sup>21</sup>

Haik then directed his little force to a promontory overlooking a tight little valley deep within the mountains. Here the Armenian force "dug in" — an obvious ambush. Soon, the Armenians:

... Beheld the disorderly mass of Bel's army

<sup>18</sup> Ananian, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>19</sup> Gregory of Narek, as quoted by Ananian, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>20</sup> MK, I.11.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

pushing forward, spilling over the surface of the whole countryside.<sup>22</sup>

The Armenian force, deployed by their captain into a close triangular cordon, then "calmy" (*sic*) arose and advanced on the enemy. When Haik slew Bel, says Moses, the Assyrian force turned tail and took flight "without turning their faces back".

This famous story is the allegory of the triumph over might by the mite — the David and Goliath theme which fascinates the Armenian people. Here we have what should be an "invincible" team arrogantly and contemptuously squaring off against a smaller team, but being defeated because of the careful pre-game planning and better conditioning of their tiny antagonists. Obviously, what had been decided upon was this: there would be a surprise thrust through the very center of the astonished enemy team, the Armenians would drive a wedge into the opponent line. This wedge would throw the Armenian team captain Haik into the presence of the opponent leader; whereupon, the latter would be attacked by Haik, would fall to his individual prowess, and the enemy force would disintegrate. The rout would then be on, there would be no stopping the Armenians! The use of the element of surprise and attack in force at a given point is an age-old athletic strategem; it has been responsible for almost every genuine upset in the world of sports. That day near the Lake of Van, the little Armenian team of archers upset a world-renowned team led by the Lord's Mighty Hunter — the Babe Ruth of the day! This is a picture that enthalls the Armenians; it is the symbol of the competitive elan without which the Armenians could not have preserved themselves through the years. The allegorical content of the mythical story of Haik which bears with the traditional Armenian affection for

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*



freedom has often been pointed out; but the tale appears to have more significance than that alone. For instance, there is the competitive angle — that Armenians are *ready to struggle* for the freedom they so cherish — that must not be overlooked. It is not enough to aspire for freedom; freedom must be fought for — and faint heart never won a game!

It is interesting to note that though he pays large tribute to the exploits and patriotism of Aram "the Haikian", after whom the neighboring peoples are said to have come to refer to the Haik people as "Armeni",<sup>23</sup> Moses fails to indicate any appreciable amount of physical beauty to that fabled early Armenian king. Aram, he says, was a "brave, active and intensely patriotic warrior" who, like his great grandfather Haik,

... would rather have died for his country than have seen his native soil trodden under the feet of foreign soldiers.<sup>24</sup>

But Aram does not have Haik's comeliness. He is a valorous and patriotic man, whose exploits are legion; yet we must assume that he has not the manifest beauty to commend himself to the aesthetic eye of the bard.

Tork, however, was outrightedly an ugly man, so much so that the minstrels knew him as "Ankeghia" ("The Uncomely"). In Moses' passages on this interesting early figure we find the image of an athletic man:

... A man named Tork ... an individual with a frowning face, tall and uncouth, sunken-eyed and ferocious in appearance; a man surnamed 'Ankeghia' because of his uncomeliness, but a man of huge frame and great strength.<sup>25</sup>

And to establish the degree of this "great strength", Moses goes on to compare Tork directly with "Rosdom Sakdjig, of the

Persians," whose strength they say equalled that of a hundred and twenty elephants":

... There are some wholly reasonable airs in vogue which tell of Tork's strength and valor — qualities which are not attributed in the same degree to either Samson, Hercules or Sakdjig. In those airs they say he seized upon some very hard and solid rocks with his hands, rendered these rocks either large or small at will, smoothed them with his fingernails, and formed some tablets on which he engraved, again with his fingernails, some figures of eagles and like objects. Some enemy vessels arrived on the shores of the sea of Pontus and he hurried to meet them. But the vessels moved out about eight stadia to the high seas, and Tork was unable to get to them. They say that he then took some stones as large as hills and dropped them upon the enemy. The resultant immense whirlpool engulfed a great number of ships, and the action of the waters produced by this whirlpool carried the rest of the ships off to a great distance.<sup>26</sup>

Moses interprets this story in this fashion:

... O how extraordinary is this fable! It is the fable of fables! But what meaning has it for you? Tork was a man of wonderful strength, and was worthy of such stories.<sup>27</sup>

This is fine as far as it goes. But it would appear that the story of Tork has more to it than being merely the symbolic picture of a terribly strong man. Here we have a distant echo of organized sports among the early Armenians, as well as a memory of a great athlete-warrior.

Now, among the earliest athletic activities recorded by mankind, weight-lifting and-throwing stand out prominently. The ancient tales tell us that stones were used as standard equipment for both exercises. Tork, then, would be a great weight-lifter and-thrower — or great stone-lifter and-thrower. His strength was so great that he could take a stone, lift it and crush it; or he could take stones "as large as hills" and put them eight stadia — or over 5,000 English feet, just short of a mile — an understandable exaggeration to say the least! *Tork is the Armenian Hercules*. His strength, said Moses, "exceeded" that of

<sup>23</sup> MK, I. 12.

<sup>24</sup> MK, I. 13.

<sup>25</sup> MK, II.8.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

Hercules! But an even more interesting comparison suggests itself. Tork appears to be the Irish Cuchulain — that is, he was the Armenian counterpart of the Irish Hercules — who about the year 1829 B.C., is said to have been the champion in lifting and hurling heavy stones and “carried all before him” at the Irish Tailtin Games.<sup>29</sup> It is not unreasonable to conclude, therefore, that the Tork legend contains indications of formal games of trials of strength in early Armenia, and that of all the champions in those contests, Tork the Uncomely was the greatest — and yes, the most colorful. The parallel references to stone sports in early Armenia and Ireland, moreover, are historically significant, for the Celts were a people of “eastern” origin. It may be suggested then that the earliest Celts to arrive in Ireland took with them thither the games they had learned in their native “eastern” habitat.

In the Armenian epic, Ara, surnamed “The Beautiful”, is the physical antithesis of Tork. He is the perfect Hellenic youth — of large physical perfection, patriotism, faithfulness and courage. He is, briefly, the dash-man, not the burly field performer.<sup>20</sup>

Ara was the son of Aram; and so beautiful was he that soon notices of his ornamental symetry reached the ears of “the unchaste and voluptuous Semiramis”, queen of Assyria. She burned to have him; he spurned her contemptuously and rejected her bribes, because he was in love with his wife Nevart. Furious at this slight, and consumed by her unrequited passion for this handsome young man, Semiramis threw her armies into Armenia, not to take and slay Ara, but to capture him and lead him to her bed. But Ara fought like a demon that day,

was “cut to pieces at the height of the melee” and died in action under the blows of Semiramis’ soldiers. Semiramis tried to bring him back to life by sorcery; but she was no goddess Thetis and he no Patroklos. No “ambrosia and red nectar” had she to fill him through his nostrils so “that his flesh might abide the same constantly”;<sup>30</sup> for, alas, we find Ara’s “cadaver was in the process of putrefaction” and Semiramis had to entomb it weeping. Ajax, then, was good and dead; and friend and foe alike wept.

It is no wonder that this beautiful story of a handsome young warrior athlete and husband has been perpetuated among the Armenians, and it has been suggested, with a good deal of logic moreover, that it was known to Plato who incorporated it into his famous “Vision of Er” (Ara?).<sup>31</sup>

The figure of Vahagn, son of Tigranes, the dragon killer, must be reckoned to be the best example of the epic Armenian “take-over guy”, the born fire-brand, the inspirational leader, the intrepid, dashing cavalier type of sportsman and champion who captures the devotion of a nation. Of Vahagn’s birth, the minstrels chanted:

“Heaven and earth were in labor,  
And the purple sea was in travail.  
And the travail held  
The small red reed in the sea;  
And through the stalk of the reed  
there arose smoke;  
And flames spurted forth from the  
stalk of the reed,  
And a youth sprang from the flame.  
This lad had hair of fire  
And a beard of flame;  
And his eyes were two suns.”<sup>32</sup>

Having recorded a divine or miraculous birth for this flaming “red-head”, Moses then testified:

... They sang his praises to the accompaniment

<sup>28</sup> See the interesting discussion of early Celtic sports in, F. A. M. Webster, *The Evolution of the Olympics Games* (London, 1914); p. 3. Compare Tork’s prodigious heave of the stone with the feat of Polyotes, at the funeral games of Patroklos (*Iliad*, XXIII. 842-847).

<sup>29</sup> On the story of Ara, see MK, I.15.

<sup>30</sup> *Iliad*, XIV. 36-38.

<sup>31</sup> The story is told in *Republic*, X.134. Prof. Ananikian (*op cit.*, p. 68-69) has made a start in suggesting the similarities between the story of Ara and of Er.

<sup>32</sup> MK, I.31.

of the cymbals, and we have heard these songs with our own ears. In these chants, they tell of his combats and his victories over the dragons, and declare his exploits to match those of Hercules. These songs tell us that he was even elevated to the rank of god, and that they raised a statue to him to which they offered sacrifices in the country of the Iberians.<sup>33</sup>

Here we must disagree with Prof. Ananikian that Vahagn is the Hercules of the Armenian myths. That honor must be given to Tork Ankeghia.<sup>34</sup> In relation to Vahagn, Moses clearly indicates that the minstrels of Armenia judged his exploits to "match" those of the Greek strong-man; but we have already seen that Tork's strength "exceeded" that of Hercules!<sup>35</sup> A suggestion may be made that Vahagn would appear to be closer comparable to the Greek Hermes than to Hercules. Like Hercules, Vahagn strangles serpents (dragons);<sup>37</sup> but there is something dashing and swift about the picture of the Armenian Vahagn that is not found in the Greek concept of the brutally strong Hercules. Vahagn portrayed the national inspiration, the eternal youthfulness of the Armenian nation, and its competitive vigor. We sing today of our football and baseball heroes; in Armenia, the people joined the minstrels in singing of Vahagn.

As for Vartkes, the son-in-law of Ervant I, King of Armenia, it appears that the Koghtan singers remembered him for his dexterity, coordination and brute physical strength. For the "infant Vartkes having parted,

... from the canton of Douh, near the river Kassagh,  
Went to settle near the hill of Charesh,  
Near the city of Ardimet, near the river Kassagh,  
To hammer out and sculpture the gate of Ervant the king.<sup>38</sup>

The construction in question appears to have been a massive one, and here the

bards tell us that Vartkes (or better Vartess, that is "He of the rosy face") was famed for his applied strength since his early youth.

The perfect athlete-type of the Armenian myths, however, is King Tigranes I, "the Dragon Killer". So unmitigatedly fulsome is the praise heaped on him by Moses, who of course was influenced by the eulogies of the historical chants, that one wonders if there is not here some confusion with Tigranes II the Great (94-55 B.C.), whose exploits, if nothing else, would merit lasting memory. Of "The Dragon Killer", Moses sang,

... In truth, who is there among the true warriors and the admirers of valor and virtue who does not thrill to the memory of Tigranes. Lives there a person who holds no ardent desire to emulate him?<sup>39</sup>

In the course of his laudatory effusions on the subject of Tigranes, Moses accords us a priceless glimpse into the Armenian attitude in regard to physical beauty, or lack of it, and the matter of heroism, a theme upon which we have often touched:

... (In his reign) ugliness seemed as graceful as beauty, and beauty, in the spirit of the times, was, like heroism, treated as an object of special regard.<sup>40</sup>

Here, Moses reckons beauty and heroism as allied qualities — beauty, which pleases the eye, is much like the quality of heroism which a person harbors invisibly but manifests in deed; and both beauty and heroism, in the spirit of the times — as in Greece we must add — were treated as objects of special regard. But ugliness became "as graceful as beauty" — when, of course, the ugly one was a great warrior, a beloved leader — a champion! And Tigranes was a champion — and an eye-filling specimen of a man at that:

... The prince with curly and golden hair of the

<sup>33</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup>. Ananikian, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-46.

<sup>35</sup>. MK, I. 31.

<sup>36</sup>. MK, II. 8.

<sup>37</sup>. MK, I. 31.

<sup>38</sup>. MK, II. 65.

<sup>39</sup>. MK, I. 24.

<sup>40</sup>. *Ibid.*

head, with the burnished face and soft grey eyes. . . He was a powerfully built man, wide of shoulders and strong-limbed, with well-formed feet; he was always discreet in food and drink and disciplined in his revelry. Our ancestors sang his praises to the accompaniment of the cymbals, telling of his prudence, his moderation in the desires of the flesh, his wisdom, his eloquence, and his desire to be useful to humanity. . . <sup>41</sup>

One would think that this was the ultimate, this would more than suffice. Here is indeed the paragon of moral and physical virtue, like Haik — the patriarch — curly haired, blonde, tanned, kindly eyed, powerfully but beautifully proportioned, an athlete of whom there was none better, the champion who knew the value of moderation in food and drink, self-discipline and restraint — he was on the training table! He was, moreover, humane, modest, wise, eloquent. He was indeed the idealised athletic type. But there's more to be said for him:

. . . I cannot, however, praise my hero too much. For he was nimble, well-adapted to everything, a person to whom there was no equal in strength. His stature was magnificent, and he had great ability with the javelin, and his limbs were beautifully proportioned. <sup>42</sup>

There is little question that here Moses is describing a perfect athlete-type. Tigranes the Dragon-Killer, the epitome of the Armenian ideal of manhood, was not only a warrior, bold and beautiful, but an athlete. He was nimble — that is, he was swift of foot, a runner, a jumper. He was "well-adapted to everything" — that is, he had fine muscular coordination, adaptable to all activities. Aside from it being patently a tribute to an athlete, the passage may easily be construed to be a reference to a Pentathlon champion! Tigranes is "nimble" (running and jumping), "a person to whom there was no equal in strength" (wrestling), and one who had "great ability with the javelin" — and we remember that javelin throwing and its allied "field" event of

"quoits" (discus), were the other two events of the Greek pentathlon competition which, thus, appears to have been known in Armenia at an early date. There is most assuredly here a hint that Tigranes must have tested his ability and strength in competition, for as we have seen, Moses reports that he had "no equal" in that department. Could this championship prowess have been determined in the arena?

### Hunting — the National Sport

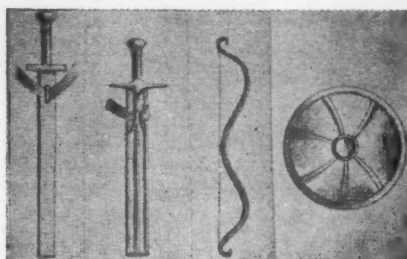
Soon after the beginning, when man had emerged from his early vegetarian years, he sought the beast for its flesh; and for the same reason, the carnivorous creatures of the age of dinosaurs sought man. It struck man, then, that the stalking and taking of the beast was the highest occupation and greatest virtue; for the beast meant food, and its dispatch constituted a measure of prevention against the hunter becoming the hunted. Those who were the greatest hunters became the tribal leaders. Early society must have been built around the sturdy form of the great hunter whose stone mace or axe, flint knife or rude javelin or spear provided his "clan" the sinews of life and security of person.

At some fateful moment, a primitive hunter, perhaps by accident, must have found that his rude beast-killing weapons also slew fellow-man. The mace, the axe, the knife and the javelin, originally designed for the hunt, became weapons of war; and as mankind turned more and more to its generic affairs, the warrior became the compelling figure in society, replacing his prototype, the hunter. Proficiency in the use of instruments of the chase as weapons of war became a symbol of manly virtue. Hunting, for which the tools had originally been devised, assumed then a quasi-military character; and man took to perfecting the art of combat in the forests and bogs by adventuring among the wild and ferocious animal kingdom, while imagining he was on the field of battle.

<sup>41</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup>. MK, II. 29.

From man's use of the javelin, the mace, axe, sword and later the bow and arrow in the hunt as training and preparation for warfare, there arose the need for training and perfection in the art of best using those weapons. Competitive trials in the use of these implements became a part of the national scene — thus the birth of sports. Rules and regulations governing contests of skill or strength were drawn up, and the best athletes, as the best warriors, as once the best hunters, were lionized.



EARLY ARMENIAN WEAPONS: (Left to right) GREAT SWORD, CUTLASS, BOW, AND BUCKLER.

Hunting, therefore, may be considered to be the mother sport of mankind. In early Armenia, it was the national sport. Its public allure was great. While early Greece frowned on hunting as an occupation or pastime for "gentlemen", early Armenia reckoned it the "sport of kings". There seems to have been an affection for the chase in early Armenia which bordered on passion.

Moses of Khoren, as an example, specifies hunting as one of two major factors which had retarded (sic!) the cultural advance of the nation! The early Armenian kings, he cries:

... had no idea of the liberal arts or sciences (because they were too) busy with hunting and invasions.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> MK, II 59. See also Euripides' famous outburst against the profession of athletics in the fragment of the *Autolykus*.

Then, in his famous lamentations on the follies of his people, Moses thunders the malediction that unless there were a spiritual reform in Armenia,

... the earth will produce no more fruit, and the beasts will cease to multiply,<sup>44</sup>

and this of course struck consternation into the hunting-minded nation.

King Diran, son of Ardashes ... "lived in peace, occupied himself with hunting and pleasures";<sup>45</sup> while the mad Ardavast,

... did nothing heroic and brave. He occupied himself in eating and drinking; he wandered through the bog, in the reed grass and among the rocks, hunting onager and wild-boar.<sup>46</sup>

But (serve him right), this enervating hunting craze also was his undoing:

... While passing over the bridge at the city of Artaxata, near the sources of the Kin on his way to a wild boar and onager hunt, Artavast was seized by a sudden madness; and ranging here and there with his horse, he fell into a very deep place in the river and vanished from view.<sup>47</sup>

There is little question that this affection for the sport of hunting was not unique to the Armenians, but was shared by their neighbors, notably the Assyrians and the peoples of "Iran". Rawlinson suggests that "the spirit of Nimrod" which animated the Assyrians "spread from them to their northern neighbors".<sup>48</sup> It could very well have been the other way around! However, it might be, the Armenian zeal for hunting was well-known to the Roman historians. As an example, in speaking of Armenia's interregnum of 16-19 A.D., Tacitus relates:

... the nation's likings inclined towards Zeno, son of Polemon, king of Pontus, who from his earliest infancy had imitated Armenian manners and customs, loving the chase. ...<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> MK, III, 68.

<sup>45</sup> MK, II, 62.

<sup>46</sup> MK, II, 61.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> George Rawlinson, *The Seven Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World* (Library Edition, N. Y., ?); Vol. I, p. 155.

<sup>49</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, II.56 (p. 85 Modern Library Edition).



The Armenian nobility felt that instruction and training in hunting constituted the most important step in the education of young male Armenia. A young man's "studies" in hunting commenced at the age of seven or eight when he was placed in the hands of "coach-teachers" called variously TAYAGM, TASDIRYARAK, MANGAGAL, OOSOOSITCH or SNOOTSITCH.<sup>50</sup> These mentors were almost invariably from royal families. The crown prince himself was attended by a noble family which had been "knighted" for the specific purpose of catering to the prince's pre-military education:

... In the time of Ardashes, the grandson of Valarsaces, there was a young man whose name happened to be Varj. . . This Varj was highly adroit in the hunting of deer and wild boar, and was an expert with the short javelin; Artashes appointed him warden of the royal game and gave him some villages.<sup>51</sup>

But, having been elevated to the nobility, Varj was given a greater duty than the regulation of the royal hunt:

... Artashes entrusted the education of his son Tigranes (to Varaj) . . . his race is called "Varaj-nouni" after him.<sup>52</sup>

The Varajnouni — "they who educate" — became the teacher-coaches and early educational guides of the princes of the Arsacid Armenian house.

An interesting feature of these training "courses" was that the junior nobles seem to have literally "gone off to school", that is, they lived and learned with their mentors away completely from parental guidance. The early training and education of the young man seems to have been the concern solely of the coach.

Schooling continued until the young man reached anywhere from 16 to 22 years of age. The "major" study was "the nomenclature and use" of the bow and arrow, while horsemanship and use of the lance (jave-

lin) was a close second. When adjudged to be the compleat hunter — that is, when the coach felt the young man was a master of the bow, the sword and the lance — he was taken from his coach and placed in the armed forces of the nation.<sup>53</sup> In early Armenia, as well as in Persia, hunting seems to have constituted "basic training" for active field military service.

So many momentuous things are on record as having happened during the course of hunting expeditions in Armenia that one wonders if hunting in Armenia were not the early equivalent of our round of golf or our "smoke filled room". During the hunt, many affairs of state were decided — enemies were dispatched, men were made. Hunting was more than a mere sport; it was part of the national pastimes, amusements, manners, customs and mores.

Thus, we are told that the great House of Mamikonian, said to have been of "Chinese" origin,<sup>54</sup> won its Armenian noble stature as the result of a grisly deed done during a hunt. Mamcoun, the first of the Mamikonians of Armenia, was enjoined by King Tiridates III to murder Seloug, chief of the noble house of the Selgouni. Mamcoun proceeded to the fortress of Seloug, where he,

. . . persuaded (Seloug) to venture from his

<sup>53</sup> Gevorg Mesrop, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>54</sup> MK, II. 81. The question of the "Chinese" origin of the Mamikonian House is under continuing discussion. It is without the bounds of this study to enter into the debate, but we would suggest that our "historians" regard more closely than apparently they have MK's "Zroiys" — his authority for the story of the Mamikonian ancestry — and translate same as "oral traditions" and not as "rumors," for the former is the Armenian *grabar* intent of the word. Attention is also drawn to MK's description of "Djenastan" (China?) (MK, *ibid.*). The ancestral land of the Mamikonians, he says, is wonderfully abundant in saffron, peacocks, and silk. Was silk "abundant" in Armenia at the time of Tiridates? What reason can there have been for MK to have concocted such a story? It is obvious that the Mamikonians were a "foreigner" family; why then could they not have come to Armenia from China?

<sup>50</sup> Gevorg Mesrop, *Haikaran* (Sofia, 1931), p. 95.

<sup>51</sup> MK, I. 12.

<sup>52</sup> MK, II.11. See also MK, II.7.

fortress in order to hunt wild deer. During the course of the hunt, Mamcoun aimed his bow and shot an arrow which ran through the rebel's back and drove him to earth.<sup>55</sup>

For this, Mamcoun was "knighted", landed. His progeny atoned for their ancestor's disgraceful and opportunistic act by the general excellence of persons, and their devoted service to their nation.

As for Tiridates III, he too eventually succumbed to the general sort of thing. Moses relates that he met his death when conspirators, after wounding him with an arrow during a hunt, finally administered poison to him as he lay abed recuperating from his wound.<sup>56</sup>

Another similar story is that of the awful murder of the beloved young Knel, on whom King Arsaces, son of Diran, looked with great envy. While flushed with wine and a hunt "so successful that no other king before him had killed so much game in one hour", two henchmen suggested that on the self-same day, the hated Knel had cut down a much larger number of beasts "on his mountain called Shahabivan". Whereupon:

... Arsaces . . . sent . . . a letter to Knel. . . 'You shall examine Mt. Dzaghats in that section all along the water for those places most abundant in game, and you shall make the necessary preparations so that we shall experience a hunt truly worthy of a king. . . Arriving there almost at the same time as his letter, Arsaces thought to find Knel had still not completed the preparations for the hunt as ordered by the king . . . But when Arsaces saw that there never had been such wonderful arrangements and so much game, he was tormented . . . and ordered (his two henchmen) to slay Knel during the chase just as if by accident an arrow had struck Knel as the result of a clumsy shot. . .<sup>57</sup>

And that is just what happened. The arrow was hardly shot clumsily; it was directed to Knel, killed him. Such a "hunting accident" today would create a tremendous

furor.

Here is a classic Armenian "hunting story" of a different kind. Sapor, son of the Persian king Isdigerd, is made "king of Armenia" by his father, but he is scorned by the Armenian nobles:

... Be it in the game, or be it in the hunt, no one rendered him the respect due a king. . . While vigorously pursuing a herd of wild asses one day, the hunting party happened to find itself in difficult and rocky places. Sapor began to draw back when Adom Mokatsi censured him severely, saying: 'Go, go! O son of the Persian God. Go, go! If in truth you are a man!' Sapor replied: 'Go thineself! For it is reserved for demons to assault rocks!' On another day, they had driven some wild boar with rocks into some reeds. Sapor did not venture into the thicker because the fire was all about him; and looking from one side to another, he rode hither and thither with his horse. 'O son of the Persian God,' Adom cried, 'here is thine father and here is thine god, Why art thou, then, in fear?' 'Cease thy railing,' said Sapor, 'and pass through the flames ahead of me so that I may pass through after you. For my horse will be frightened should it go through the flames first.' Adom again insulted Sapor, again saying: 'Is it possible that those stones are here too that I must go first? If then thou doest call the Mokatsi a race of demons, I say the Sassanians are a race of effeminate men.' And spurring his horse forward, Adom passed through the flames as if through a field of flowers, and thus freed Sapor.<sup>58</sup>

Aside from their significant moral, religious and political undertones, the two stories interwoven together are valuable to the scholar because they reveal an interesting method of Armenian hunting in early times. Obviously, what was done was this: "Beaters" would drive the wild boar into a "blind arroyo" by hurling rocks at the beast; then, in order to bring the prey out from his hiding place in the brush and directly at the waiting mounted hunters, the underbrush would be set afire. In the case above, obviously the prairie fire got out of hand and surrounded the hunters. To escape, it was necessary to leap through the flames.

The classic writings give us hints of other methods of the Armenian hunt.

was killed in the royal game preserve and his body was buried under one of the walls containing that area.

<sup>58</sup> MK, III.55.

<sup>55</sup> MK, II.84.

<sup>56</sup> MK, II.92, and Fragment of Bk IV.

<sup>57</sup> MK, III.23. Faustus of Byzantium, *History of Armenia*, IV, 15, gives other and added details of this event. According to him, Knel

Lazar of Pharb,<sup>59</sup> in a celebrated passage extolling the beauties and fertility of "our land of Armenia", carefully differentiates between the "greyhound" and "hunting dog" which accompanied an Armenian hunting party into the fields. Here, the inference seems quite plain. The greyhound (*barak*) was obviously loosed when it was necessary to meet the challenge of the swift stag, or to flush a covey of game birds; the "hunting dog", on the other, must have been the Armenian counterpart of the violent and fearless Assyrian mastiff which unhesitatingly attacked the terrible lion. For instance, such less noble, and more dangerous, beasts as the wild-boar and onager, were probably given over to the ungentle attention of this cur. Moses' reference to the dogs that polished off the cadavers of the Gamsarian family may be a reference to the half-wild Armenian "hunting dog".<sup>60</sup> It is possible that the fabled dogs that "gnaw away incessantly" at the chains of the "imprisoned" monarch Ardashir were of this self-same semi-cannibalistic type.<sup>61</sup>

Another interesting, but not unusual or unique, method of hunting in Armenia was falconry. Lazar includes this form of hunting in his catalogue of the chase, while, according to Moses, Valarsaces, the fountainhead of the Arsacid dynasty of Armenia, appointed,

... the Havenouni, who were bird trainers living in the forest ... the king's falconers.<sup>62</sup>

It would appear that the bird represented in certain coins of Tigranes the Great was meant to be the eagle, for we learn that the monarch venerated that bird.<sup>63</sup>



A DRACHMA OF TIGRANES SHOWS THE HEADRESS OF THE KING ADORNED WITH HIS BELOVED EAGLES.

In hunting the bird, if the falcon were not used, the method appears to have been to bring the bird to wing and to impale him in flight with a well-directed arrow.<sup>64</sup>

The use of traps and hunting nets were not unknown to the Armenian huntsman.<sup>65</sup> We are not at all sure if slingers were included in the Armenian hunting party, but their existence as part of the Armenian military establishment would suggest that the sling's potential as a small-game killer must have easily suggested itself to the sportsmen of the day.<sup>66</sup>

A striking little story told us by Moses

Fr. Vartan Hatzouni, *Badmionthiun Hin Hai Daratzin*, (Venice, 1923), p. 63, on which is embossed two eagles as decorations of the king's crown-piece.

<sup>64</sup>. A method used, of course, in neighboring Assyria. See Rawlinson *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 148. Falconry was practiced widely in Persia as well as Assyria. The archer Meriones shot a pigeon in the air during the Trojan War, in which the Armenian traditions have the Armenians participating as allies of Priam. See *Iliad*, XXIII, 873-876.

<sup>65</sup>. Lazar of Pharbe, *op. cit.*, I.7. Nicol Aghbalian, *The People and the Land of Armenia* (in *The Armenian Review*, III-9, p. 6.), says flatly: "They (the Armenians) developed the art of trapping". Lazar (I.7) describes hunters riding off to the sport "loaded down with traps".

<sup>66</sup>. MK, II.24: "One saw the foot-soldiers mounted on horses, the slingers turned archers. . ." in the days of Tigranes the Dragon-Killer.

<sup>59</sup>. Lazar of Pharbe, *History of Armenia*, I.7.

<sup>60</sup>. MK, III.32.

<sup>61</sup>. MK, II. 61.

<sup>62</sup>. MK, II.7. See also N. Adontz, *Histoire d'Arménie — Les Origines duxe Siecle au Vie* (av. J. C.), (Paris, 1946), p. 14.

<sup>63</sup>. G. Samuelian, *Totemism Among the Armenians* (in *The Armenian Review*, Vol. II, No. 4-8, p. 55, col. I). See coin of Tigranes on p. 63 of

may perhaps accord a hint of still another method of early Armenian hunting. King Artashes has fallen in love with the daughter of the enemy Alani king, so he decides to ride into the encamped foe, capture and abduct the maiden Satenik:

"Brave King Artashes, mounted on  
a handsome black charger  
And holding a red leather thong  
ornamented with golden rings  
Crossed the stream, like the eagle  
cuts the air,  
And threw his red leather thong  
ornamented with golden rings  
Around the waist of the Alani maiden.  
He hurt greatly the waste  
of the delicate maiden;  
And he swiftly regained his camp  
with her." 67

Interpretations made to date of that portion of this beautiful little myth which pertains to the "red leather thong" are inadequate because they seem to show little understanding of the basic nature of the adventure itself. This was no mere "abduction from the seraglio", and the instrument of capture does not necessarily refer to the "might of the royal arm." We are here dealing with a *hunting problem*. The king considers how he might descend upon the Alani camp, secure the person of the princess as a quickly and painlessly as possible. The answer comes readily to the great hunter-warrior. After he has crossed the stream, he must thunder into the camp, must sight the prey; in the momentary confusion and mill of the "herd" he must catch the maiden, draw her upon his horse, and then must beat a quick retreat before the "baffled beasts" can turn on him. Catching her and holding her, and drawing her up before him — this was his principal problem; and this he solved by use of "the red leather thong". Here we have what appears to be an Armenian version of a "hunting whip", or perhaps better an Armenian counterpart of the curious, two-stranded hunting "noose" known to Assyriologists. 68

67. MK, II.50.

Something on the line of the former is here to be preferred. Thus, Artashes snapped the long tongue of the whip around the maiden, hurling "greatly the waist" (but certainly not seriously injuring her, Satenik was to prove an extraordinarily healthy young lady who roamed the fields and forests of Armenia, after her marriage to Artashes, in search of succulent herbs); and the King would then lift her, entwined by the whip but still struggling, up to the pommel of his great charger, would direct the animal back to his own troops — and safety.

As for the red of the leather and the golden rings: the color red, or purple, has been since time immemorial the "royal" color. The King's red "whip," if such it was, was a royal whip and therefore could have been highly ornamented, here with "golden rings". The latter may betray again a noosed instrument; but scholarship does not readily admit of the use of thrown "lassos" or "reatas" in ancient times even though the Persian Shah Nameh (*Story of Garshasp*) relates of an early use of it by the legendary Rustem. Why, if the common snare was known, as it appears to have been known, could not the reata have suggested itself?

Until "centuries of unchecked license . . . of tribal shepherds — Tartars, Turkomans, Kurds . . . brought about the destruction" of the Armenian forests, 69 the land was a veritable natural hunter's paradise — an animal kingdom. There is scientific evidence on hand attesting to the existence of beasts of diverse species in Armenia at a very early age. For instance, fossilized remains dating from the Miocene period found in western Armenia have been identified as those of a giant mommoth of a distinctive type — *Elephas Armeniacus*, 70

68. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 301.

69. Lynch, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 405

70. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 404 (note). The remains were reported by the author to have been placed in the British Museum.

while other creature fossils date from the Cretaceous era.<sup>71</sup> It may be suggested that the many references to the mythical dragon in the Armenian epic may be remote echoes of the early struggles of the Armenian aborigine against the monsters of the reptilian period.

It would be unscholarly to conclude this discussion of the mania for hunting in early Armenia without touching upon the matter of the game beasts and birds of Arme-



THIS SEPULCHER FROM ANI WAS BEAUTIFULLY ADORNED WITH HORSES, HUNTERS, BOWMEN, MOUNTAIN GOATS. QUITE OBVIOUSLY, THE DECEASED WAS A HUNTING ZEALOT.

nia; for the student readily perceives that the presence of what must have been unlimited game in Armenia must have played a large role in developing and sustaining a hunting yen among the people. The subject leads of course into the complex arena of totemism and nature worship and cannot therefore be fully treated here. However, an attempt will be made to identify simply those beasts to which reference is made in the Armenian and neighboring annals.

Game beasts included: bear, deer, leopard, wild ass, wild boar, mountain goats and wild sheep, buffalo, lynx, fox, wolves, hare or rabbits.<sup>72</sup> Now, there is also a possibility that lions and tigers were also hunted, both perhaps at a very early age. Tour-

nefort, a reputable botanist, reported that he had noted the presence of tigers in the Araratian region, but Bryce retorted "nobody has believed him".<sup>73</sup> The lion presents a specialized problem of interesting proportions. The Armenian classics appear to bear no direct references to royal hunts in search of the lion in early Armenia, but the people were not ignorant of the beast or its symbolic qualities. Xenophon<sup>74</sup> re-



THE FAMED RUBENIAN LION: SEAL OF LEVON, LAST KING OF ARMENIA.

ports that "Media abounds in lions", and he goes on to identify a number of other animals definitely known to have been native to Armenia. Why, then, in those early times could not have the lion been an inhabitant of Armenia, the neighbor of "Media"? A bas relief at Ani pictures the lion, and the wonderful ribbon frescoes at Agh-tamar are reported to carry the image of the king of beasts. The lion of course was the favorite prey of the Assyrian kings, and the Sassanian kings of Persia were eager

<sup>73</sup> James Bryce, *Transcaucasia and Ararat* (London, 1896), p. 245. He suggests that what Tournefort saw were "perhaps . . . wild cats or leopards".

<sup>74</sup> *Cyropaedia*, I.4 (7).

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 403.

<sup>72</sup> References to these beasts are found in the works of MK, Lazar of Pharbe, Faustus of Byzantium, etc.



## ANIMALS IN ANTIQUITY



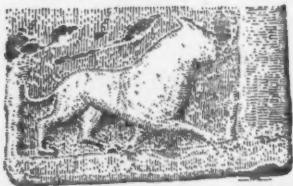
AN ARMENIAN PRE-CHRISTIAN BAS RELIEF FOUND AT BAGREVANT. AN ANIMAL IS BEING SACRIFICED.



THE ANI HIEROGLYPHIC. STILL UNDEIPHERED, IT PERHAPS TELLS OF A HUNTING EXPEDITION.



THE LION OF THE ARMENIAN KINGS OF LESSER ARMENIA, FLANKED BY THE RUBENIAN CROSS, BREAST PLATE AND SCEPTER.



THE FAMED LION OF THE ANI BAS-RELIEFS.



THE VANNIC "WINGED BULL" SHOWING STRONG HITTITE INFLUENCE.



THE ESCUTCHEON OF THE ROYAL RUBENIAN FAMILY OF LESSER ARMENIAN. LIONS RAMPANT HERE GUARD THE HOLY CROSS.



COINS OF LESSER ARMENIA, SHOWING A MOUNTED KING (upper left) AND LIONS (upper and lower right).

to stalk the creature.<sup>75</sup> Lion-hunting then must most assuredly have been known to the Armenians of those various periods. It may be here suggested, with no proof whatsoever, that the lion and the tiger may have disappeared from Armenia with the forests of the land.



A GOLD-ENCRUSTED LADY'S ORNAMENT FOUND AT ANI. WHAT APPEARS TO BE A LEOPARD (RIGHT) IS ATTACKING A LION.

Bird life included, or includes, partridge, grouse, eagles and hawks of various species, the crane, many species of ducks, wild geese, swan, plover, dove, etc. Lynch reported in the early twentieth century that he had viewed an island on Lake Nizik, Armenia, "white with the droppings of waterfowl . . . pelicans abound there."<sup>76</sup> He also expressed his astonishment at the quantity of grouse, partridge, ducks, geese and plover he had noted, and spoke of an eagle so heavy that it had to run before taking wing<sup>77</sup> — like a modern bomber.

Lo, wrote Lazar, behold "the flocks of sweet singing, rock-dwelling partridges and kindred fowl, the various species of reed-dwelling, fat-bodied wild birds, the moss-seeking divers, and the countless other land and water birds. "This multitude of winged

creatures, he said was "the joy and wonder of the lovers of the hunting sport."<sup>78</sup>

And behold, wrote Moses, the natural glories of Erzerum and environs:

. . . A large variety of birds inhabited the place, and the residents fed exclusively on the eggs of these winged creatures. . . The mountains teemed with animals of cloven hooves, and ruminants. The flocks multiplied and were a great, strong and fat specie.<sup>79</sup>

It is interesting to note that this abundance and variety of game in early Armenia did not prevent the monarch, and perhaps the great nobles, from establishing private game preserves, a general practice of the times. Thus, King Valarsaces,

. . . for the indulgence of the chase transformed two wooden plains that were circled with hills into parks,<sup>80</sup>

and King Ervant,

. . . planted a forest to the north of the (Akhourian) river, surrounded it with walls so that the sprightly doe, the stag, the wild boar and onager would be kept within its confines. These animals grew and multiplied and stocked the forest for the great pleasure of the king on hunting days. Ervant called the forest "The Forest" of Multiplication".<sup>81</sup>

King Chosroes the Small is said to have "planted near the Azad River a forest which bears his name even today",<sup>82</sup> and Faustus reveals that at Shahabivan there existed "a hunting place surrounded by walls".<sup>83</sup>

The exterior decorations of the Cathedral of Aghtamar, on the island of the same name in Lake Van, are the outpourings of a Christian nation's thanks to God for the many natural plenties he has given. These exquisite flowing reliefs depict men, animals and birds, all entwined masterfully together by fruit laden vines. Heads of bulls, rams, an elephant (sic!) and a

<sup>75</sup> Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 146, 300; vol. II, p. 352. Theophanes, *Chronograph.*, p. 268 (c), says Heraclius, the Armenian emperor of Byzantium, saw tigers, lions, and wild asses in special preserves at the Tastaghere palace grounds, in Persia.

<sup>76</sup> Lynch, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 323.

<sup>77</sup> Lynch, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 346.

<sup>78</sup> Lazar of Pharbe, *op. cit.*, I.7.

<sup>79</sup> MK, III.55.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, II.6.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, II.41.

<sup>82</sup> M. K., II.8. See also Faustus of Byzantium, *op. cit.*, III.8.

<sup>83</sup> Faustus of Byzantium, IV.15.

tiger are carved in full relief on the south apse.<sup>84</sup> Elsewhere, Armenian sculptors cut the beast and the hunt on the archivolt of the Ptghni church, and the Ani citadel showed two mounted huntsmen and a symbolic tree of the forest. Kochevank had its proud lion on its south wall, while the cathedral at Ani was graced by its elegant eagle. A lion was shown attacking what appeared to be a bull on the south wall of the Gueghard church.<sup>85</sup> The frequent use of birds and animals in the Armenian manuscript illumination art also tends to reflect the traditional Armenian affection for the hunt, for nature, and for the outdoors.<sup>86</sup>

Animals, and the qualities of animals,

<sup>84</sup>. See A. Khatchatrian, *The Architecture of Armenia*, (in *The Armenian Review*, vol. IV, No. 2-14; p. 2); also Lynch, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 132-133.

<sup>85</sup>. Khatchatrian, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>86</sup>. Space does not allow our offering abundant

formed the bases for interesting figures of speech. For instance Egishe (*Vartanantz Wars*) in opening his work says the Persian king Hazgerd fell "on the country of the Greeks . . . like a wild beast." Just three paragraphs later he employs this colorful phrase: "Because bears in agony fight more fiercely with their last breaths, wise men escape from them." This is a reflection no doubt, of the experience of "wise" Armenian hunters with the wounded or cornered bear.

additional information illustrating the importance of animal life in early Armenia. Readers of *The Armenian Review* are invited to consult G. Samuelian, *Totemism Among the Armenians* (*AR*, vol. II, No. 4-8, p. 54, *et seq.*) for an adequate resume of the significance of animal worship in early Armenia as betrayed by place names, family names, nature cults, monastery titles, holy places, heraldry, traditions, household utensils, superstitions, etc., etc.

(TO BE CONTINUED)



ARMENIANS OF BOTH THE PAGAN AND EARLY CHRISTIAN ERAS WERE OBVIOUSLY HIGHLY "ANIMAL" CONSCIOUS. TO THE LEFT, LIONS FLANK A PRIESTLY FIGURE, AND THE TERRIBLE DRAGON (RIGHT) PLAYED AN INTERESTING ROLE IN MYTHOLOGY. BOTH ILLUSTRATIONS ARE FROM ARMENIAN ICONOGRAPHY.

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● "MUST" READING FOR ARMENIAN AMERICANS:

# WHY THE TRUTH MUST BE TOLD ABOUT SOV. ARMENIA

REUBEN DARBINIAN

Following the last world war a goodly number of Armenians, lay and clergy, from various parts of the world, the United States in particular, went to Soviet Armenia and then returned to their homes. With negligible exceptions these men were friends of the Soviet Government who for years had been fed upon. Ramgavar-Hunchak-"Progressive"-Communist propaganda. There can be no doubt that these men, unless they were blind or outright fools, returned home greatly disillusioned after having witnessed the terrible conditions under which the people of Soviet Armenia now live. Some of them were so disappointed that one man recently confessed to the New York Times correspondent: "I went to my hotel room in Erivan every night and wept uncontrollably at sight of the plight of my people. I never imagined things could be so bad."

Strangely enough not one of these men who visited Soviet Armenia to date has had the moral courage or the political integrity to publicly come forth and confess the deep disappointment he suffered; no one dared to tell the bitter truth about the sufferings of the Armenian people who live in a veritable Soviet hell. All of them shunned their civic responsibility toward their kinsmen of the dispersion and toward the countries in which they live.

It is quite true that some of them confided the stark reality in intimate circles, meanwhile observing a discreet public silence. But most of them not only failed to keep silent, but were very vociferous in picturing Soviet Armenia in rosy colors, although it must be admitted, they again confided to their close friends that the stark reality is far from being rosy. There were some who, in their public reports, while singing the praises of Soviet Armenia, indulged in some minor, inconsequential criticisms of adverse aspects of Soviet life, but even then the Ramgavar-Hunchak-"Progressive" press glossed over these innocuous criticisms and published only what in their opinion was the affirmative side — the side they wanted to believe. A striking example of this was the written report of one Harry Burt (Movsesian), a recent returnee from Etchmiadzin, which was completely purged of all unfavorable observations when discussed by the Armenian pro-Soviet press.

The question intrigues us. What is it that forces these men who went to Armenia and returned disillusioned to hide the truth from their kinsmen, or at best to keep silent, or to admit only a small part of the truth, and drowning even this small part in an extravagant display of naive or artificially bombastic panagyrics?

In saying this, we have not in mind, of

course, the avowed Communists or the Soviet agents in disguise. Their motives need no explanation. We have in mind those Armenians who are neither Communists nor Soviet fellow-travelers but are sincere and well intentioned men, but who, before their sojourn to Soviet Armenia, had been prejudiced or misled by the Ramgavar-Hunchak-"Progressive" propaganda. Why do these men, after seeing that they had been deceived, when they return home, shun telling the plain truth but on the contrary paint a rosy picture of Soviet reality?

The motives of this extraordinary behavior are manifold. In the first place those who belong to the Ramgavar and Hunchak Parties, or those who found their way into the "Progressive" camp, are *forced* by their respective parties to paint a rosy picture of Armenia. But those who belong to no parties but consider themselves neutrals dare not tell the truth publicly because they find themselves under a powerful moral pressure of a social pro-Soviet circle which, having been fed upon pro-Soviet propaganda for years, is reluctant to be disillusioned in regard to the "paradiseland" of Soviet Armenia which has been drummed into their heads for the past 35 years.

There are still others who, without any party or social pro-Soviet circle pressure, voluntarily remain silent, or if anything, try to show the false picture. These are led by their personal interests or mistaken motives of patriotism. Their justification is: it is better that the Armenian communities of the dispersion never know the real truth about Soviet Armenia. They think the resultant disillusionment will be disastrous for the Armenian people abroad.

Finally, there are the ecclesiastics who went to Soviet Armenia and returned, and who remain silent or reverse the truth about Armenia, especially in regard to the tragic condition of the Armenian Church, because they are afraid that if they told the truth, first they would jeopardize their posi-

tion with the head of the Church who is the prisoner of the Soviet Government, and second, for fear of hurting the Armenian Church.

From the public viewpoint the most honorable of these motives is of course the honest fear that telling the truth about Soviet Armenia and the deplorable conditions of the Armenian Church not only may not help matters, but might actually harm the best interest of the fatherland, the nation and the church.

Although this is the line of excuse used by some individuals who are led by personal motives and considerations, there can be no question that there are many laymen and also clergymen who are sincere in their convictions. It is necessary, therefore, to ascertain whether they are justified in their attitude which in turn resolves itself into silence or outright lying, whether forced or voluntary.

First of all, Armenians who live in the dispersion have a sacred national duty toward the people of the old country. That is, first, to sound the alarm in the free world as long as the people of Soviet Armenia are unable to make their voice heard under the Soviet terror; and second, to help that people with all possible means to liberate itself from an insufferable tyranny. Only by telling the truth, and nothing but the truth in regard to Soviet reality, can Armenians of the dispersion conscientiously fulfill their sacred duty.

Secondly, if expatriated Armenians remain silent in regard to the sufferings of their people in the homeland and fail to do their utmost for their liberation, but if on the contrary they conceal the truth with rosy colors, they will extinguish the last hope of liberation in the Armenian people. From the viewpoint of the Armenian national interest it is infinitely better that we do not disappoint the people of the homeland, rather than to disappoint that part of the



Armenian Communities abroad, which still nurtures illusions about Armenia.

Thirdly, those who want to conceal the truth from a certain segment of our communities of the dispersion will in reality be aiding and abetting the Soviet tyranny, to continue its terroristic pressure on our people, and thus, depress our people spiritually.

Last, the situation in Soviet Armenia is not unique, isolated to Armenia alone, so that the truth could permanently be concealed, or a policy of conformity could possibly improve the condition of Armenia. We should bear in mind that Soviet Armenia is only a small part of the Soviet world, subject to a monstrous tyranny which is unprecedented in history. The thing which is going on in Armenia is

common to all the other parts of the Soviet world. So that, it would be impossible to conceal the truth about the Soviet even if, not only a part, but the whole of the Armenians in diaspora were to follow the Ramgavar-Hunchak-"Progressive" policy of lying and deception. Needless to say such a policy will avail nothing from the standpoint of improving the lot of the people of Armenia unless such improvement applies to all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

In view of these considerations, we can confidently state that there is absolutely no justification, either from the national or patriotic viewpoints, for the Armenians of the dispersion to hide the truth about the deplorable condition of Soviet Armenia and the Armenian Church.

## THE WHITE RIDER

AVETIS AHARONIAN

In a corner of the house yard two elderly women were holding a loud conversation which they had started in the street. They were still at it in front of the door.

"I tell you, the offspring of a beautiful girl like Sona and a handsome youth like Bagrat will be a veritable miracle child," spoke Phari, the elder of the two, enthusiastically. "Come, let us tie the red and green band and seal up the engagement. What a girl! Lovely and lithesome like the doe of the mountains. And as to Bagrat, what a man! He had shoulders like the slopes of a mountain, and he is powerful like the buffalo. All the girls of the village have a crush on him. His father's house is generous as the sea, the doors open to all, himself a veritable prince. Don't let Sona play with her luck. Luck is a bird, once you scare it, it flies away like a bird and you can never catch it again."

Phari was the match-maker of the village. She was a short woman with small, piercing and intelligent eyes, and with the nose of a bird, constantly drawing in the snuff, breaking and resuming her chatter.

"I know, I know," assented the other, a tall simple-minded woman who was Sona's mother, "I know, my eyes are not blind. But what can I do when she will not listen to me. She is not a girl, she is fire and flame. Her father and I have been working on her but it's no use. She is not a girl, she is fire and flame."

Sona, who did not seem to notice the

presence of the two women, was seated under a mulberry tree in the front yard, quietly doing her sewing and singing. She had delicate features quite unusual for the village — a tall figure, a slim waist, and six locks of luxuriant hair which slithered down her shoulders. Her lips were delicate and sensitive, and her eyes dreamy, always smiling. All the eligible bachelors of the village had a crush on the daughter of Cobbler Tatos. The latest candidate and seeker of her hand was Bagrat of Chalontz, the son of Prince Avak. To the Cobbler and his wife this was the best match of all. The obscure and insignificant cobbler of the village would suddenly become related to the richest and the most powerful family in the village. There was no room for any hesitation. But Sona persistently rejected the hand of Bagrat, as she had done to all other suitors. The parents of the two were at the end of their wits. The negotiators kept going back and forth from one house to the other, and now, lastly Phari had taken a hand in the matter, the same Phari who had a reputation for drawing out the snake from its hole with her sweet tongue. But Sona was adamant.

The whispering of the two women continued for a long time. Sona, on the other hand, would not notice them. She was deeply immersed in her sewing, and loudly singing a song of her creation, both the lyric and the music. Besides herself no other girl in the village knew the song or its secret.

*Ampu itchev sari lanchin  
Mshoushi metch, bed ardvin,  
Artzei pes, arizvitz ver,  
Ov eb knoum sarn i ver;  
Hey chan, jermak dsiaavor.*

The cloud descended on the mountain slope  
Within the mist, together with the eagle,  
Like the eagle, above the eagle,  
Who is riding up the mountain?  
Hey Darling, white rider!

"What is she singing?" asked Phari, looking toward Sona.

"God knows what. Once you get close she shuts up like a clam. When she is alone she keeps singing."

"Haven't you caught a single word of what she is singing?" Phari asked cunningly.

"I told you she shuts up the minute you come near her."

"There must be something to this," Phari said, pressing her finger to her lip meaningfully, "there must be something to this. This girl has some secret ache. Are there any boys meeting her on the street, on her way back from the fountain, some furtively exchanged words, a wink of the eye, and what not. She is a ripe girl, like a ripened field which will flare up into a conflagration with the touch of a match."

"Upon my word, little mother, there is no other boy. My daughter is a shy, tamed doe, she is always at home, never in and out, she never mingles with the other girls, never looks at a man, she is always by herself, sewing and singing."

"If you repeat it a thousand times, I still say there must be something to this," repeated Phari. "She turns down all suitors — then there is this song — she does not go to the fields, she never looks at another man, then there is this song of hers. If I only could hear one word of that song! Sneak over closer to her sometime, listen to her singing, hear one word of it. Ah, that song, that song! I tell you there must be something to this, that song is not a good portent, I tell you listen to it."

Both women fell silent for a moment, try-

ing to listen to the singing, but Sona instantly stopped her singing.

"You see?" said Sona's mother. "That's the way she acts always."

The old woman Phari took her leave, leaving Sona's mother behind looking at her daughter thoughtfully who had resumed her song, bending over her sewing.

*Tzagbig gaghem, jambid tsanem,  
Jambid nestem uspasem,  
Ernek karin, ernek sarin,  
Kex hov anogh amperin,  
Hey chan, jermak dsiaavor.*

*Jambid mernim, sirouyd boyid,  
Matagh linem mourazit,  
Ourkitz yekar, our gnatzir,  
Agbotk anem sbout dartsir.  
Hey chan, jermak dsiaavor.*

The flowers I pluck let me strew on your path,  
Let me sit on your way, waiting for you,  
Blessed be the stone, blessed the mountain peak,  
Blessed the clouds which carry the wind,  
O my darling white rider.

I would gladly lay down my life  
To the road you walk on, to your lovely stature,  
My life a sacrifice to your heart's desire.  
Whence did you come and whither you went,  
My fondest prayer, return to me soon,  
O my darling white rider.

The mother silently crawled up closer. The girl stopped her singing.

"Sona, part and parcel of my heart."

Sona raised her head, her eyes smiling, her face wrapped up in a happy dream.

"Sona my darling, what are you singing, my child?"

"Oh, nothing, nothing Mother. I am sewing and thinking."

"Think a little for me, too, Sona darling."

The mother sat beside her daughter and threw her arm around her neck. Sona looked up at her with her doe eyes, threw her arms around her and kissed her passionately. Then she burst into a long hearty chuckle which soon changed into crying, her eyes always smiling.

"My goodness, I laughed so much tears came down my eyes," Sona apologized with childish cunning.

"My child, did you see? Phari came over

to see us about that matter. She said we must seal the engagement by this fall, otherwise —

"Otherwise what?"

"Otherwise they will ask for the hand of Salpie."

Sona again fell into a long, hearty chuckle. "That's fine," she said.

"That's fine, you say. But the boy does not want Salpie. It's Sona or none he says. Come, child, don't throw away your chance. Your father has given his word."

"To whom has he given his word?" Sona asked laughingly.

"Don't you know? To Bagrat's father, of course. If I only knew what is ailing you! What have the others got that Bagrat hasn't got? How many boys like him can you find in the village? How many girls are pining for him! Rich, handsome, intelligent! What more do you want?"

Sona became sad and started to look away at the Bartoghian Mountains.

"Mother, what is beyond those mountains?"

"Misery and suffering, it's a cursed world. How should I know?"

Mother and daughter fell silent. Sona was gazing at the mountains beyond which was misery and suffering, the world of the cursed.

In the evening when Sona's father came home Sona went inside to prepare supper. Man and wife were left alone, seated under the mulberry tree. The Cobbler was drunk, indicating that he had spent the day at the saloon with Bagrat's father. He was in excellent spirits.

"Woman, congratulations! Sona my darling, my lovely child, what a boy, what a boy! Know something? Avak put his hand on my shoulder, so help me he did, and he said to me, 'Tato, my friend, we are in-laws now,' Hi, Hi, Hi — the Cobbler giggled supremely happy — I am a respected man now, consider whose in-law I have become. Sona is a beautiful girl, everyman

knows whose daughter she is, I am a respected man now."

The Cobbler was happy, but his wife was silent and thoughtful.

"Huh, what's the matter, woman? Aren't you happy that our daughter is marrying a rich boy?"

"But she will not have him," the woman said pointing to the house where Sona was busy, getting supper ready.

"Who will not have him?"

"Sona, of course."

"Stuff and nonsense! She is only a girl, now she will have him now she will not, the next thing she will mount the rooftop and will shout she wants Bagrat."

"No, no, seriously, she will have none of Bagrat."

"Shut up, woman, it's not for her to say whether she wants or not," the Cobbler snarled, then he shouted at the house, "Sona, Sona."

The girl came out of the house.

"Come here a moment."

"The girl came closer, the father took her face in his two hands and looked long into her eyes. Sona was silent and smiling.

"Huh, do you see this fur cap on my head?"

The girl did not reply. Her smile vanished.

"I am a cobbler but I am a man, Sona, do you hear, Sona?" He raised his voice. "Bagrat is my son in law, your fiance, do you understand?"

"No, father."

"What? How not?"

"No, father," the girl repeated, disengaging herself the while from her father's embrace.

Tato was stunned.

The sun sank behind the mountains.

"Woman, this world has turned upside down. Which way did the sun set, this way, or the other?" Tato asked his wife pointing to the north and the south — "this

world has turned upside down."

That night in their bed the Cobbler and his wife talked for a long time, trying to penetrate the secret of their daughter's extraordinary stubbornness. They went over, one by one, all the boys of the village, the dark alleys, the dead ends, meeting places, all, but to no avail. They could find nothing which could solve the riddle.

Sona's secret was impenetrable.

Half asleep half awake, her eyes closed, and inattentive to her parents' whisperings, Sona had surrendered herself to her sweet dreams. She was reminiscing the day — that sunny spring day — when on her way back from the vineyard, her hair strewn by the wind, light-hearted and careless, she herself was a veritable spring. Along the road between the vineyards and the open fields, four riders were travelling to the opposite chain of mountains. They were strangers, travellers. They had receded quite a little ways when another loomed up in the distance, a handsome youth mounted on a white horse, a sword dangling from his side, a rifle across his shoulder. His horse was dancing under him, biting at the bit of his bridle, kicking up the dust. The stranger halted his horse beside Sona a moment and asked, "Girlie, did you see four riders along here?"

"Yes I did. Four riders," Sona replied blushing deeply.

"Which way did they go?"

"In that direction," Sonia pointed her finger to Mount Massis.

"Ah yes, I see," said the stranger thoughtfully while the horse stomped the ground impatiently. Sona likewise was silent, once or twice she raised her head and looked at him. Their eyes met. Sona instantly dropped her gaze and blushed; her heart was pounding, trying to leap out, as it were.

The stranger did not hurry and was looking for something to say. Then suddenly he spurred his horse on and was lost in a cloud of dust. Rooted there Sona was looking at

him when the stranger suddenly wheeled about and galloped to the side of the girl. The animal came to a stop panting and chafing while the stranger turned to the girl.

"Girlie, what is your name?"

"Sona," the girl said in a scarcely audible voice.

"Sona! Sona!" the stranger repeated and again was tongue-tied. The name Sona sounded so sweet.

"Sona," he spoke finally, "Sona, will you wait for me? I am going to the Shrine of Saint Garabet in fulfilment of a wish of my mother."

This time Sona paled, trembled, then blushed and looked down.

"Sona, next spring I will come back to you."

"Yes, Yes," the girl scarcely managed to whisper, and she was about to crumble from her emotion.

The youth took out a colorful handkerchief from his pocket and dropped it on the girl's head, then he spurred his horse and this time galloped off like a hurricane. He looked back twice through the clouds of dust then was off.

Sona ran after him as long as there was any strength left in her, she emerged into the open fields, the rider was galloping away until he was hidden behind the hill. Pantingly, Sona reached the hill, climbed to the top and saw the cloud of dust on the distant road which trailed, rolled, rose and fell like the convolutions of a dragon. Then the cloud twisted toward the mountain, hung on the slopes and kept crawling upwards. With burning eyes Sona followed the trail of the dust cloud, her heart stormy, until it disappeared behind the mountain.

She sat down and enfolded her knees in her arms, her dreamy eyes rooted on that point of the horizon where he had disappeared. And it seemed that there was no other place to go beyond that point, that all life and the whole world passed along



that road and vanished, taking her heart with it.

She looked long and then suddenly she sobbed out loud, tears welled up in her eyes and gently flowed down her cheeks, she was crying and smiling at the same time. She took out of her bosom the handkerchief which the stranger had given her and wiped off her tears, again smiled, sniffled and again hid the handkerchief. Holding her knees she was swaying back and forth, singing her song which suddenly poured out of her lips, as if she had improvised it a long time ago.

*Jermak dsiov ov a antsnoom,  
Dashti mitchov, mer dzorerov;  
Sourp Hagopin oukhti kertam,  
Agbotk kanem ou koulam.*

Who is the white rider  
Going through fields and valleys,  
I am going on a pilgrimage to Saint Hagop  
To offer my prayers and to weep.

"No, no," she said. "I won't cry any more,  
I won't cry anymore."

*Tzagbik kaghem jambid tsanem,  
Jambid nestem aspasem,  
Yernek karin, yernek sarin,  
Kez hov anogh amperin.  
Hey chan, jermak dzavor.*

The flowers I pluck let me strew on your path,  
Let me sit on your way, waiting for you,  
Blessed be the stone, blessed the mountain peak,  
Blessed the clouds which carry the wind,  
O my darling white rider.

Sona sang and smiled — it was so good,  
so good.

She stopped singing and again her gaze was rooted on the distant horizon. There was no darkness in her soul, as to who he was, or where he went, but a deep longing which for long years had laid a nest in her heart suddenly welled up and started to bleed for the white rider.

"Where did he go? He said he would come back for me in the spring."

And the spring was so far away — there was the summer, the autumn, the winter, and then —

"Then he will come, he WILL come, he said he would come in the spring."

She had no doubt that he would come, with the white horse, the sword hanging from his side, "he will come just like today, like a fire, like an eagle — O my darling white rider."

The sun slowly sank behind the mountains, the thrush whistled for the last time, the birds flocked together and perched down in the valleys, the cooing of the partridges stopped, the shadows hung from the mountains, the mist thickened and turned black, the flocks started to move toward the village.

It was evening. Sona sighed deeply and started for the village.

That night she was sleepless for a long time, her eyes closed she was dreaming. The picture was the same — the white horse biting the bit, standing before her and stomping the ground, she could not raise her head, then came his lightning look which set her heart on fire.

"Wait for me. I will come back for you in the spring," then he was off, the dust cloud trailing upwards like the tail of a dragon.

"I wonder where he is now. Is he sleeping on the mountain, at the base of a boulder? The evil are many in the mountains, and it is so dark." And the girl's lips slowly whispered in the dark.

*Dzerket thrit pabir, matagh,  
Hey chan, jermak dzavor.*

Keep your hand on your sword, my love,  
O my darling white rider.

Then she smiled. Who would dare come near her brave, her lion?

She fell into a long sweet sleep late toward morning.

Thereafter, every night it was the same picture, the same magic dream tickling her heart. The suitors came and went away disappointed. Sona would have none of them, not even Bagrat, the richest and the most influential youth of the village, for Sona's heart belonged to another who would come back in the spring. Sona was in love with the white rider.

● A BRILLIANT RESEARCH STUDY:

# LORD BYRON AND THE MONKS OF ST. LAZARUS

LADIS K. KRISTOF

In November, 1816, after a journey across Switzerland, Byron arrived in Italy and made his home in Venice. However, he did not intend to establish himself permanently there, or anywhere else in Italy. It does not seem that his restless nature permitted him then, or at any time during his life, to make any definite long-range plans. It would have been difficult for the greatest representative of the Romantic Revolt to become tied to one place or to a well-ordered existence.

Notwithstanding his inborn exuberant nature, Byron had at that time many reasons to be still more restless than usual. He left Britain not as a peaceful traveller, but rather as an *exile* fleeing social ostracism. His divorce affair had turned into a scandal and it would be putting it mildly to say that certain segments of London society had shown displeasure with his conduct. We have consequently to consider his extremely agitated life at the period<sup>1</sup> not as typically "Byronian", but rather as an attempt to forget and to escape the past.

## The Study of Armenian Language

Byron's initial association with the monastery of St. Lazarus can, in part, be ex-

plained by this desire to bury unpleasant memories in a host of new and exciting experiences. Conquests of Italian peasant girls or even Venetian countesses kept him exhausted only physically and could not challenge his brilliant intellect. His mind needed something harder to crack.<sup>2</sup> The Armenian language became thus a welcomed, novel, and challenging field of activity.

... I found that my mind wanted something craggy to break upon; and this (the study of the Armenian language) — as the most difficult thing I could discover here for amusement — I have chosen, to torture me into attention.<sup>3</sup>

Writing a few weeks later to Augusta Leigh, his half-sister, he gives similar reasons for studying Armenian:

... I go every morning to the Armenian Convent (of *friars not nuns* — my child) to study the language, I mean the Armenian language . . . . and if you ask me my reason for studying this out of the way language — I can only answer that it is Oriental and difficult, and employs me — which are — as you know my Eastern and difficult way of thinking — reasons sufficient.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See Thomas Moore, *The Life, Letters and Journals of Lord Byron*, London: John Murray, 1892, p. 420. Moore, an Irish poet, was a close friend of Lord Byron.

<sup>3</sup> Letter to Mr. Moore, Venice, December 5, 1816. Some of Byron's letters referred to in this article can be found in Moore, *op. cit.*, and the rest in Peter Quennell, *Byron — A Self-Portrait, Letters and Diaries 1798 to 1824*, London: John Murray, 1950.

<sup>4</sup> Letter to the Hon. Augusta Leigh, Venice, December 18, 1816.

<sup>1</sup> Byron's love affairs in Venice were the subject of permanent gossip and at times of social indignation. The poet did not calm down until he met, in April, 1819, Countess Guiccioli. This new *liaison* was a lasting one and it seems that the Countess had a very salutary influence upon his mode of life.

There is evidence that for a time Byron was studying Armenian quite regularly, going every morning in his gondola to the island of St. Lazarus.<sup>5</sup> In several letters to his friends he mentions that his mornings are taken up with Armenian studies. His teacher, Father Paschal Aucher, attests that Byron came for the first time to the convent on December 2, 1816 and returned each morning for fifty days.<sup>6</sup> Byron himself refers for the first time to his Armenian studies when writing to his publisher on December 4, 1816.<sup>7</sup> After that the Armenian lessons are regularly mentioned in his correspondence until March 3, 1817, when he declares that "my Armenian studies are suspended for the present, till my head aches a little less."<sup>8</sup> Toward the end of the same month we hear again that "my illness has prevented me from moving this month past, and I have done nothing more with the Armenian."<sup>9</sup> It does not seem that the lessons were ever resumed.

Father Paschal Aucher speaks very highly of his pupil: "He learned to read the Armenian language very well, and also to understand it a little."<sup>10</sup> Byron himself seems less sure that he ever "read the Armenian language very well". He confesses even on one occasion that he wished he "had studied languages with more attention". What he knew of foreign languages, including "a smattering of modern Greek, [and] the Armenian and Arabic alphabets", he "acquired by ear or eye, and never by anything like Study." "To be sure, I set in zealously for the Armenian and Arabic,<sup>11</sup> but I fell in love with some ab-

surd womankind both times, before I had overcome the Characters."<sup>12</sup>

The greatest obstacle in Byron's study of the Armenian language was apparently the alphabet. The poet felt sincere compassion for some students in France who took advantage of a newly-established Armenian professorship and persevered "with courage worthy of the nation and of universal conquest, [from Monday] till Thursday, when *fifteen* of the *twenty* succumbed to the six-and-twentieth letter of the alphabet. It is, to be sure, a Waterloo of an Alphabet — that must be said for them."<sup>13</sup>

We have seen above some of the immediate causes which prompted Byron to take up the study of the Armenian language. However, it would be a mistake to think that the poet's interest in the monastery of St. Lazarus, the Armenian manuscripts and the Armenian language was the result of a mere chance or caprice. It had much deeper roots.

Byron was a child of the Age of Romanticism. In both his life and works he proved himself one of the most dynamic exponents of the romantic credo.

The Romantics were rebels. They rebelled against the Age of Enlightenment — that Age which stressed Reason above all else, and thereby made life prosaic. The Encyclopedists of the eighteenth century did away with the fantastic, supranatural and unexplainable. They stressed that even a shepherd — the typical hero of the senti-

<sup>11</sup> Byron made a feeble attempt once to study Arabic when, on his previous journey, he stopped for a while on the Island of Malta.

<sup>12</sup> "Detached Thoughts" No. 55, Quennell, *op. cit.*, p. 629.

<sup>13</sup> Letter to Mr. Moore, Venice, December 5, 1816. In another letter (to Mr. Murray, December 4, 1816) Byron confessed that Venetian ladies presented less difficulties than the Armenian Characters: "I should think *that* (the new love) and the Armenian alphabet will last the winter. The lady has, luckily for me, been less obdurate than the language, or, between the two, I should have lost my remains of sanity."

<sup>5</sup> Letter to Thomas Moore, Venice, December 24, 1816.

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix, no. I.

<sup>7</sup> Letter to Mr. Murray, Venice, December 4, 1816. John Murray the second was Byron's friend and publisher.

<sup>8</sup> Letter to Mr. Murray, Venice, March 3, 1817.

<sup>9</sup> Letter to Mr. Murray, Venice, March 25, 1817.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix, no. I.

mentalist painter— was working because he had to make a living.

But the Romantics refused to be content with the terrestrial and prosaic life. To them it did not seem worth living. They pointed to the Middle Ages when life was heroic, not prosaic; when the saints and knights, and not the utilitarian economists represented the revered ideals. Consequently the Romantics set out to regain that lost world of mysticism, glorious individuals and the unconventional. It was sought amidst wild nature, in strange countries, and among people who best preserved their past. The emphasis was on the individual — the individual man or the individual ethnic group. As a result of this emphasis there developed a vivid interest in the many small "out of the way" nations. We have heard already that the French instituted an Armenian professorship. This sudden concern with *exotic* languages was very strong in Germany and generally characteristic of the Romantic Age. Byron only followed the trend when he tried to assimilate "a smattering" of Arabic, Armenian, Turkish, Greek and Albanian. It was

natural that he dreamed about travelling East, considered his mind "oriental", and filled his poetry with Turkish, Tartar, Ukrainian and other colorful heroes, so different from the dull western *bourgeois*.

Armenia was in no way a strange world to Byron at the time when he came to Venice. He was already acquainted with it through books. On his way to Italy he admired the *chateau* in Switzerland which Tavernier built in Aubonne "because the site resembled and equalled that of *Eri-van*."<sup>14</sup> We know that he was familiar with Herodotus and read and re-read many times Xenophon's *Anabasis*. He himself stated that his readings in history were "tolerably extensive" and that "few nations exist, or have existed, with whose records I am not in some degree acquainted, from Herodotus down to Gibbon."<sup>15</sup> Byron also

<sup>14</sup> Journal, September 29, 1816. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 315. J. B. Tavernier published "Travels through Turkey into Persia and the East Indies for the Space of Forty Years", a work which was translated from French into English in 1678.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in Ludwig Fuhrmann, *Die Belesenheit des jungen Byron*, (doctoral dissertation), Friedenau bei Berlin: Verlag von Martin Kindler, 1903, p. 71.

## LADIS K. KRISTOF

Ladis K. Kristof was born November 26, 1918 in Cernauti (Czernowitz), Northern Bucovina (Austrian until 1919, then Rumanian until 1940, now annexed by the Soviet Union). His ancestors emigrated from Armenia centuries ago and acquired landed properties in Rumania, Poland and the Ukraine.

Kristof studied forestry before the war at the University of Pozan in Poland. During the war he was drafted into the Rumanian army and served during the anti-Soviet campaign. After the war, in 1948, he fled from Rumania to Yugoslavia, and from there to Trieste in 1950.

Since 1952, he has been in the United States. He worked for one year in an Oregon logging camp; then studied for two years at Reed College in Portland, Oregon. He is now doing graduate work in Political Science at the University of Chicago.



read eagerly travellers' accounts, especially those from the Near East; and geographies, among which was Strabo's *Rerum Geographicarum*.<sup>16</sup> It is obvious thus that the poet must have already had, prior to his meeting the monks of St. Lazarus, quite a fair picture of Armenia — the Armenia through which the *Ten Thousand* retreated from Persia, as well as the contemporary land.

In this respect Byron was not an exception. Other contemporary Romantic poets knew Armenia also, and this did not escape Byron's attention. He said that he had read "Schiller's '*Armenian*', a novel which took a great hold of me when a boy."<sup>17</sup> Byron also knew "*Italy*" — a poem by his friend Rogers — in which Schiller's hero, an Armenian of Venice, reappears.<sup>18</sup>

The fact that Armenia drew the attention of the Romantic writers is not surprising. The contrary would have been strange. Was it not delightful for a Romantic poet to become acquainted with the Armenian people, with their ancient and glorious past — the heroic feudal era extending over more centuries than the feudal era of any other people — and with their old customs well preserved amid a wild, rough and beautiful country? Had nineteenth century Armenia been more accessible and open to travel it would undoubtedly have been visited and praised by a host of Romantic globe-trotters.

### Byron's Esteem and Friendship for the Monks of St. Lazarus

However joking Byron's remarks were about his studies of the Armenian language

and the "Waterloo of an Alphabet", we should not conclude too hastily that the poet's acquaintance with the monastery of St. Lazarus was superficial and devoid of understanding of the monks' work and mission.

From his first contact with St. Lazarus Byron was deeply impressed by the collection of ancient manuscripts he found there. "There are some very curious MSS in the monastery, as well as books; translations from Greek originals, now lost, and from Persian and Syriac, & c.; besides works of their own people."<sup>19</sup> These manuscripts must have stimulated Byron's desire to continue the study of the Armenian language because, in spite of all the difficulties, he considered it "a rich language", which "would amply repay any one the trouble of learning it."<sup>20</sup> The poet was also pleased that he had "gained some singular and not useless information with regard to the literature and customs of that oriental people."<sup>21</sup>

Byron was also full of praise for the monastery itself, "a church and convent of ninety monks, very learned and accomplished men, some of them. They have also a press, and make great efforts for the enlightening of their nation."<sup>22</sup> The Convent of St. Lazarus appeared to Byron "to unite all the advantages of the monastic institution, without any of its vices. The neatness, the comfort, the gentleness, the unaffected devotion, the accomplishments, and the virtues of the brethren of the order, are well fitted to strike the man of the world with the conviction that 'there is another and a better' even in this life."<sup>23</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7415, 90.

<sup>17</sup> Letter to Mr. Murray, Venice, April 2, 1817. The German title of Schiller's novel is: *Der Geisterseher* (in English sometimes the *Ghost Seer*).

<sup>18</sup> Samuel Rogers, *Italy*, London: 1830. On p. 62 we find paraphrased from Schiller's novel: "Signor, he died at nine!" — "Twas the Armenian; The mask that follows thee, go where thou wilt."

<sup>19</sup> Letter to Mr. Moore, Venice, December 5, 1816. In another letter (to Mr. Murray, January 2, 1817) Byron says again: "I can assure you that they have some very curious books and MSS."

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Letter to Mr. Murray, Venice, December 4, 1816.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> See Appendix, no. II.



The devotion of the Mekhitarists of St. Lazarus to the furthering of Armenian — West European cultural exchange persuaded Byron to lend them a hand in overcoming some difficulties. "I am. . . assisting and stimulating in the English portion of an English and Armenian grammar, now publishing at the convent of St. Lazarus."<sup>24</sup> Byron also financed the printing of this grammar and tried to induce Mr. Murray, his publisher, to promote the sale of it in England. "In another sheet, I send you [Mr. Murray] some sheets of a grammar, English and Armenian, for the use of the Armenians, of which I promoted, and indeed induced, the publication. (It costs me but a thousand francs — French livres.) . . . When this Grammar. . . is done, will you have any objection to take forty or fifty copies, which will not cost in all above five or ten guineas, and try the curiosity of the learned with a sale of them?"<sup>25</sup>

At the same time Byron was helping in the preparation of another grammar. "Padre Paschal, with some little help from me, as translator of his Italian into English, is also proceeding in a MS. Grammar for the English acquisition of Armenian, which will be printed also, when finished."<sup>26</sup> The poet wrote also what seems to have been intended as a Preface to the Armenian Grammar<sup>27</sup> and was found after his death

among his papers.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps it was a Preface for the second grammar which was not published until 1819, that is, after Byron's departure from Venice when he was greatly involved in the *Carbonari* conspiracy. Consequently it was forgotten or not sent in time to St. Lazarus to be included in the printing.

The Armenian studies and the work on the publication of the Armenian grammars brought Byron into close association with the whole monastery. He became a true friend of the monks, and in particular of Father Paschal Aucher, his Armenian teacher and the author of the grammars. Byron spoke of Father Aucher as "my father — that is, my Armenian father" and used "We" when he meant the monks of the convent which he called "our convent". And he did not hesitate to burden his publisher with questions and problems concerning his Armenian friends.<sup>29</sup> And when the publisher was not prompt in conforming to the requests Byron admonished him "you must not neglect my Armenians."<sup>30</sup> Besides, Mr. Murray's failure to answer was interpreted by the poet as Cicero would have done (*Qui tacent consentire videtur*). So, in spite of the publisher's obvious lack of enthu-

<sup>24</sup> See Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

<sup>29</sup> "We want to know if there are any Armenian types and letter-press in England, at Oxford, Cambridge, or elsewhere? You know, I suppose, that, many years ago, the two Whistons published in England an original text of a history of Armenia, with their own Latin translation? Do those types still exist? and where? Pray enquire among your learned acquaintance." Letter to Mr. Murray, Venice, January 2, 1817. "Inasmuch as it has pleased the translators of the long-lost and lately-found portions of the text of Eusebius to put forth the enclosed prospectus, of which I send six copies, you are hereby implored to obtain subscribers in the two Universities, and among the learned, and the unlearned who would unlearn their ignorance." Letter to Mr. Murray, January 27, 1818.

<sup>30</sup> "Why have you not sent me an answer and list of subscribers to the translation of the Armenian Eusebius? of which I sent you printed copies of the prospectus (in French) two moons ago. Have you had the letter? — I shall send you another: — you must not neglect my Armenians." Letter to Mr. Murray, Venice, April 11, 1818.

<sup>24</sup> Letter to Mr. Murray, Venice, December 27, 1816.

<sup>25</sup> Letter to Mr. Murray, Venice, January 2, 1817.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* The first grammar, that intended for the use of the Armenians, was published in 1817. The other one, for the English, in 1819. This latter, of which this writer owns a copy, includes not only the grammar proper, but also exercises in reading the Armenian language, some of which have a double text, Armenian and English. Among these exercises we find The Epistle of the Corinthians to St. Paul the Apostle, and St. Paul's answer. There are also selections from old Armenian authors (Esnacius, Chorenensis, Lampro-nensis, Gregory Illuminator, Agathangelus, Zenobius, Corion, Eliseus, Moses Chorenensis, etc.).

<sup>27</sup> See Appendix, no. II.

siasm for Armenian books, "two Armenian friars, on their way, by England, to Madras. . . will also convey some copies of the grammar, which I think you agreed to take."<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately, we don't know if Mr. Murray bothered much with finding buyers for the publications from St. Lazarus. But, whatever happened to the books and prospectuses conveyed from Venice to England, it is remarkable how sincerely Byron was pre-occupied with the promotion of the cultural activities of the Armenian monks. And he continued so, long after he stopped taking Armenian lessons at the convent.

### Byron Translates from the Armenian Bible Two Apocryphal Epistles

In the Armenian Bible are found as Apocryphal writings an Epistle of the Corinthians to St. Paul the Apostle and St. Paul's answer to the Corinthians. It seems that, in modern times, these Epistles "were for the first time. . . translated from that [Armenian] language by the two Whistons, who subjoined the correspondence, with a Greek and Latin version, to their edition of the Armenian History of Moses of Chorene, published in 1736."<sup>32</sup> These Apocryphal writings were added, with Armenian and English texts, to the Armenian Grammar for the English.<sup>33</sup> The English text<sup>34</sup> written in "scriptural prose" was by Byron to whom the Epistles seemed

"very orthodox".<sup>35</sup>

The poet was apparently proud that he had translated a biblical writing hardly known in the West and sent a copy of it to his publisher. However, probably because of the uncertain origin of the Epistles, he labeled it "*not* for publication."<sup>36</sup> At least this was so at the beginning. Later on, he seems to have changed his mind and was anxious "to know what became of my two Epistles from St. Paul (translated from the Armenian three years ago and more) . . . which you [the publisher] have never attended to."<sup>37</sup> However, the urgings had little influence on Murray who was not very eager to publish anything controversial. The printing was delayed again. But Byron was not ready to forget *his* Epistles. Another year and a half later he insists again "for what reason have you kept it [the translation of the Epistles] back. . . ? Is it because you are afraid to print anything in opposition to the cant of the Quarterly about Manichaeism? Let me have a proof of that Epistle directly. I am a better Christian than those parsons of yours, though not paid for being so."<sup>38</sup>

The Epistles remained nevertheless unpublished during the poet's lifetime.

Before concluding one final observation should be made. Byron was impressed by the Armenian cultural heritage and by the efforts of the Mekhitarists of St. Lazarus

<sup>31</sup> Letter to Mr. Murray, Venice, June 8, 1817. Byron wanted Murray to facilitate the two friars, Father Sukias Somalian and Father Sarkis Theodorosian, to get to India and asked to oblige him "as they (the friars) and their order have been remarkably attentive and friendly towards me since my arrival at Venice."

<sup>32</sup> Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 347-8 (footnote). The Whistons mentioned here are the same about whose "Armenian types and letter-press in England" Byron inquired of Murray on his letter of January 2, 1817.

<sup>33</sup> See the Epistles in Appendix, nos. III and IV.

<sup>34</sup> Moore thought that this translation was "the first that has ever been attempted in English" and mentioned that "annexed to the copy in my pos-

session are the following words in his (Byron's) own handwriting: — 'Done into English by me, January, February, 1817, at the Convent of San Lazaro, with the aid and exposition of the Armenian text by the Father Pashal Aucher, Armenian friar. — Byron. I had also (Byron adds) the Latin text, but it is in many places very corrupt, and with great omissions.' "Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

<sup>35</sup> Letter to Mr. Moore, Venice, March 31, 1817.

<sup>36</sup> Letter to Mr. Murray, La Mira, near Venice, June 14, 1817.

<sup>37</sup> Letter to Mr. Murray, La Mira, near Venice, 1820.

<sup>38</sup> Letter to Mr. Murray, Ravenna, October 9, 1821.

to cultivate it. But he did not think of the Armenians as a nation in the same terms as he thought of the Greeks as a nation. In Byron's times Armenia was only a past—a glorious but sleeping past. For centuries the Church had preserved and kept united the Armenians as an ethnic and cultural group. But the Armenians did not become again a true nation until such pioneers as the Mekhitarists of St. Lazarus and Vienna brought back to the memory of the people its history and helped channel from the West into Armenia the ideas of the French Revolution and national renaissance. In 1872 Artsrouni wrote in his paper *Mechak* "Yesterday we were only an ecclesiastical community — tomorrow we shall be a nation."<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Quoted in H. Pasdermadjian, "Aperçu de l'Histoire Moderne de l'Arménie", *Vostan*, Paris, vol. No. 1, p. 177 (translated from French).

## APPENDIX

### I

Text of a handwritten note added to, and bound with, a copy of the Armenian Grammar. The first part, written by Dr. Aucher, is a translation from Italian. The second part, by Jules Renouard, the original owner of the book, is a translation from French. . . . *Being in Venice, Lord Byron began on December 2, 1816 to come every day to the Island of St. Lazarus of the Armenian Monks to take lessons in the Armenian language from Dr. Pasquale Aucher; and he continued to do so for fifty days. He learned to read the Armenian language very well, and also to understand it a little. At the same time he compelled Dr. Aucher to publish his English-Armenian Grammar which he (Dr. Aucher) had already prepared for the use of his compatriots; Lord Byron graciously paid the printing expenses. After that he prompted Dr. Aucher to write still another Armenian-English*

It is well known how intensely Byron was interested in the national emancipation movements of early nineteenth century Europe. He helped both by deed and with money often at the risk of his life, the Italian *Carbonari*. In Greece, where he died in 1824 as a result of the rough life he gladly shared with volunteer soldiers, he became one of the great national leaders. From the friendly help he gave the monks of St. Lazarus in translation, publication, and other problems, we can assume that he would have done as much for an Armenian national movement as he did for the Greek one. And we can only deplore that the Armenian nation was not at the time ready to request the moral support and active assistance of such a great name and noble character whose inspired leadership could, perhaps, have greatly modified the destiny of Armenia.

*Grammar to be used by his English compatriots. Dr. Aucher did so, explaining the rules of Armenian grammar in Italian, and Lord Byron translated them into English. In this way was composed the present Grammar which Lord Byron wanted to dedicate to Mr. Hoppner, <sup>1</sup> His Britannic Majesty's Consul in Venice. But then, having changed his mind, he returned the manuscript to Dr. Aucher who published it in 1819.*

<sup>1</sup> Byron was on friendly terms with Hoppner. When, in February 1818, the Hoppners had a child, John William Rizzo, the poet wrote the following four lines:

His father's sense, his mother's grace  
In him, I hope, will always fit so;  
With (still to keep him in good case)  
The health and appetite of Rizzo.

These lines have been translated metrically into eleven different languages, among them Armenian, and printed in a small volume in the seminary of Padua. (See Moore, op. cit., p. 374, footnote). To the Armenians it is of interest because these four lines are, apparently, the only ones from Byron's poetry translated into Armenian; at least during his lifetime.

... This note was by the hand of Father Paschal Aucher who gave it to me at St. Lazarus in January 1825 with a copy of the grammar in question.

JULES RENOUARD

The fragment found in Byron's papers which seems to have been intended as a Preface to the Armenian Grammar. Reprinted from Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 336-7.

... The English readers will probably be surprised to find my name associated with a work of the present description, and inclined to give me more credit for my attainments as a linguist than they deserve.

... As I would not willingly be guilty of a deception, I will state, as shortly as I can, my own share in the compilation, with the motives which led to it. On my arrival at Venice, in the year 1816, I found my mind in a state which required study, and study of a nature which should leave little scope for the imagination, and furnish some difficulty in the pursuit.

... At this period I was much struck — in common, I believe, with every other traveller — with the society of the Convent of St. Lazarus, which appears to unite all the advantages of the monastic institution, without any of its vices.

... The neatness, the comfort, the gentleness, the unaffected devotion, the accomplishments, and the virtues of the brethren of the order, are well fitted to strike the man of the world with the conviction that 'there is another and a better' even in this life.

... These men are the priesthood of an oppressed and a noble nation, which has partaken of the proscription and bondage of the Jews and of the Greeks, without the sullenness of the former or the servility of the latter. This people has attained riches without usury, and all the honours that can be awarded to slavery without intrigue. But they have long occupied, nevertheless, a

part of 'the House of Bondage,' who has lately multiplied her many mansions. It would be difficult, perhaps, to find the annals of a nation less stained with crimes than those of the Armenians, whose virtues have been those of peace, and their vices those of compulsion. But whatever may have been their destiny — and it has been bitter — whatever it may be in future, their country must ever be one of the most interesting on the globe; and perhaps their language only requires to be more studied to become more attractive. If the Scriptures are rightly understood, it was in Armenia that Paradise was placed — Armenia, which has paid as dearly as the descendants of Adam for that fleeting participation of its soil in the happiness of him who was created from its dust. It was in Armenia that the flood first abated, and the dove alighted. But with the disappearance of Paradise itself may be dated almost the unhappiness of the country; for though long a powerful kingdom, it was scarcely ever an independent one, and the satraps of Persia and the pachas of Turkey have alike desolated the region where God created man in his own image.

### III

Reprinted from *A Grammar Armenian and English* by Father Paschal Aucher D.D., Venice: Printed at the Press of the Armenian Academy, 1819, pp. 177-181. (This English translation of the Epistle of the Corinthians is by Lord Byron.)

## THE EPISTLE OF THE CORINTHIANS

To St. Paul the Apostle <sup>1</sup>

(Found in the Armenian Bible as an Apocryphal writing)<sup>2</sup>

1. Stephen, and the Elders with him —

<sup>1</sup> Some M. S. S. have the title thus. *Epistle of Steppen the Elder to Paul the Apostle from the Corinthians.*

<sup>2</sup> In the M.S.S. the marginal Verses published first by the Whistons are wanting.

Dabnus, Eubulus, Theophilus, and Xinon to Paul our Father and Evangelist and faithful Master in Jesus Christ, Health.<sup>3</sup>

2. Two men have come to Corinth, Simon by name and Clebus,<sup>4</sup> who vehemently disturb the faith of some with deceitful and corrupt words;

3. of which words thou should'st inform thyself:

4. for neither have we heard such words from thee, nor from the other apostles:

5. but we know only that what we have heard from thee and from them, we have kept firmly.

6. But in this chiefly has our Lord had compassion, that, whilst thou art yet with us in the flesh, we are again about to hear from thee.

7. Therefore do thou write to us, or come thyself amongst us quickly:

8. we believe in the Lord, that, as it was revealed to Theonas, he hath delivered thee from the hands of the unrighteous.<sup>5</sup>

9. But these are the sinful words of these impure men, for thus do they say and teach.

10. that it behoves not to admit the Prophets: <sup>6</sup>

11. neither do they affirm the omnipotence of God.

12. neither do they affirm the resurrection of the flesh:

13. neither do they affirm that man was altogether created by God:

14. neither do they affirm that Jesus Christ was born in the flesh from the Virgin Mary:

15. neither do they affirm that the world was the work of God, but of some one of

the Angels.

16. Therefore do thou make haste <sup>7</sup> to come amongst us:

17. that this city of the Corinthians may remain without scandal:

18. and that the folly of these men may be made manifest by an open refutation; Fare thee well. <sup>8</sup>

19. The Deacons Thereptus and Tichus <sup>9</sup> received and conveyed the epistle to the City of the Philippians. <sup>10</sup> When Paul received the epistle although he was then in chains on account of Statonice <sup>11</sup> the wife of Apofolanus, <sup>12</sup> yet as it were forgetting his bonds, he mourned over these words, and said weeping: — It were better for me to be dead, and with the Lord. For while I am in this body, and hear the wretched words of such false doctrine; behold, grief arises upon grief, and this trouble adds a weight to my chains, when I behold this calamity, and progress of the machinations of Satan, who searcheth to do wrong. — And thus with deep affliction Paul composed his reply to the epistle. <sup>13</sup>

#### IV

Reprinted from P. Aucher, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-195. (This English translation of the Epistle of St. Paul is by Lord Byron.)

#### EPISTLE OF PAUL

##### To the Corinthians <sup>1</sup>

(Found in the Armenian Bible as an Apocryphal writing.)

1. Paul in bonds for Jesus Christ, disturb-

<sup>7</sup> Some M.S.S. have. *Therefore, Brother, do thou make haste.*

<sup>8</sup> Others read. *Fare thee well in the Lord.*

<sup>9</sup> Some M.S.S. have. *The Deacons Thereptus and Tichus.*

<sup>10</sup> The Whistons have. *To the city of Phoenicia.* but in all the M.S.S. we find. *To the city of the Philippians.*

<sup>11</sup> Others read. *On account of Onotice.*

<sup>12</sup> Some M.S.S. have. *of Apollophanus.*

<sup>13</sup> In the text of this epistle there are some other variations in the words, but the sense is the same.

<sup>1</sup> Some M.S.S. have this title. *Paul's Epistle from prison for the lesson of the Corinthians.*

<sup>3</sup> In some M.S.S. we find. *The Elders Numenus, Eubulus, Theophilus, and Nomeson to Paul their brother, Health.*

<sup>4</sup> Others read. *There came certain men. . . and Clebus, who vehemently shake.*

<sup>5</sup> Some M.S.S. have. *We believe in the Lord, that his presence was made manifest, and by this bath the Lord delivered us from the hands of the unrighteous.*

<sup>6</sup> Some M.S.S. read. *To read the Prophets.*



ed by so many errors, <sup>2</sup> to his corinthian brethren Health.

2. I nothing marvel that the preachers of evil have made this progress.

3. For because the Lord Jesus is about to fulfil his coming, verily on this account do certain men pervert and despise his words.

4. But I verily, from the beginning have taught you that only which I myself received from the former Apostles, who always remained with the Lord Jesus Christ.

5. And I now say unto you that the Lord Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, who was of the seed of David,

6. according to the annunciation of the Holy Ghost, sent to her by our Father from heaven;

7. that Jesus might be introduced in the world, <sup>3</sup> and deliver out flesh by his flesh, and that he might raise us from the dead; as

8. in this also he himself became the example.

9. That it might be made manifest that man was created by the Father,

10. he has not remained in perdition unsought, <sup>4</sup>

11. but he is sought for, that he might be revived by adoption.

12. For God who is the Lord of all, the father of our Lord Jesus Christ; who made heaven and earth, sent first the Prophets to the Jews;

13. that he would absolve them from their sins, and bring them to his justice.

14. Because he wished to save first the house of Israel, he bestowed and poured worth his Spirit upon the prophets;

15. that they should for a long time preach the worship of God, and the Nativity of Christ.

16. But he who was the prince of evil, when he wished to make himself God, laid his hand upon them,

17. and bound all men in sin.<sup>5</sup>

18. Because the judgement of the world was approaching.

19. But almighty God, when he willed to justify, was unwilling to abandon his creature;

20. but when he saw his affliction, he had compassion upon him: and

21. at the end of the time he sent the Holy Ghost into the Virgin foretold by the Prophets.

22. Who believing readily, <sup>6</sup> was made worthy to conceive, and bring forth out Lord Jesus Christ.

23. That from this perishable body in which the evil Spirit was glorified, he should be reprov'd and manifested,

24. that he was not God. For Jesus Christ in his flesh had recalled and saved this perishable flesh, and drawn it into eternal life by faith.

25. Because in his body he should prepare a pure temple of justice for all ages;

26. in whom we also when we believe are saved.

27. Therefore know ye that these men are not the children of justice, but the children of wrath:

28. who turn away from themselves the compassion of God.

29. who say that neither the heavens nor the earth were altogether works made by the hand of the Father of all things. <sup>7</sup>

30. But these cursed men <sup>8</sup> have the doctrine of the Serpent.

31. But do ye by the power of God withdraw yourselves far from these, and expel

<sup>2</sup> Some M.S.S. head. disturbed by various compunctions.

<sup>3</sup> Others read. That Jesus might comfort the world.

<sup>4</sup> In some M.S.S. are find. is not remained in different.

<sup>5</sup> Some M.S.S. have laid his hand, and them and all body bound in sin.

<sup>6</sup> Some M.S.S. have believing with a pure heart.

<sup>7</sup> Others read. of God the Father of all things.

<sup>8</sup> In some M.S.S. are found they curse themselves in this thing.

from amongst you the doctrine of the wicked.

32. Because you are not children of disobedience <sup>9</sup> but the sons of the beloved Church.

53. And on this account the time of the resurrection is preached to all men.

34. Therefore they who affirm that there is no resurrection of the flesh, they indeed shall not be raised up to eternal life,

35. but to judgement and condemnation shall the unbeliever arise in the flesh:

36. For to that body which denies the resurrection of the body, shall be denied the resurrection, because such are found to refuse the resurrection.

37. But you also, Corinthians! have known from the seeds of wheat, and from other seeds;

38. that one grain falls <sup>10</sup> dry into the earth, and within it first dies;

39. and afterwards rises again by the will of the Lord imbued with the same body:

40. neither indeed does it arise the same simple body, but manifold, and filled with blessing.

41. But we must produce the example not only from seed, but from the honorable bodies of men. <sup>11</sup>

42. Ye also have known Jonas the son of Amittai; <sup>12</sup>

43. because he delayed to preach to the Ninevites, he was swallowed up in the belly of a fish for three days, and three nights:

44. and after three days God heard his supplication, and brought him out from the deep abyss;

45. neither was any part of his body cor-

rupted, neither was his eyebrow bent down; <sup>13</sup>

46. and how much more for you, oh men of little faith!

47. If you believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, he will raise you up, even as he himself hath risen.

48. If the bones of Elisha the prophet falling upon the dead, revived the dead,

49. by how much more shall ye, who are supported by the flesh and the blood and the Spirit of Christ, arise again on that day, with a perfect body?

50. Elias the prophet embracing the widow's son raised him from the dead,

51. by how much more shall Jesus Christ revive you on that day with a perfect body, even as he himself hath risen?

52. But if ye receive other things vainly, <sup>14</sup>

53. henceforth no one shall cause me to travail: for I bear on my body these bonds, <sup>15</sup>

54. to obtain Christ; and I suffer with patience these afflictions to become worthy of the resurrection of the dead.

55. And do each of you having received the law from the hands of the blessed Prophets and the holy Gospel, <sup>16</sup> firmly maintain it;

56. to the end that you may be rewarded in the resurrection of the dead and the possession of life eternal.

57. But if any of ye not believing shall trespass, he shall be judged with the misdoers, and punished with these who have false belief.

58. Because such are the generations of

<sup>13</sup> Some M.S.S. join, *nor did a hair of his body fall therefrom.*

<sup>14</sup> Others read. *Ye shall not receive other things in vain.*

<sup>15</sup> Others finished here thus. *Henceforth no one can trouble me farther, for I bear in my body the sufferings of Christ. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, be with your spirit, my Brethren, Amen.*

<sup>16</sup> Others read. *Of the holy Evangelist.*

<sup>9</sup> Some M.S.S. read. *children of disobedient.*

<sup>10</sup> In some M.S.S. are found *that one grain falls not dry into the earth.*

<sup>11</sup> Some M.S.S. have. *But we have only produced from the seeds, but from the honorable body of men.*

<sup>12</sup> Others read, *the son of Emattinius.*

vipers, and the children of dragons, and basilisks.

59. Drive far from amongst ye, and fly from such, with the aid of our Lord Jesus

Christ.

60. And the peace and grace of the beloved Son be with you! <sup>17</sup> Amen.

<sup>17</sup> Others join. Our Lord be upon ye all, Amen.

Pamphlet reprints of this article may be purchased at 35 cents each.

Apply "ARMENIAN REVIEW," 212 Stuart St., Boston 16, Mass.

## PASSING OF GENERAL DRO KANAYAN

One of the last of the fabled generation of Armenian revolutionary military leaders, General Drastamart Dro Kanayan, passed away March 8, 1956, while receiving treatment at the New England Baptist Hospital, Boston. He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Kayane Kanayan, his son and daughter, all of whom reside in Watertown, Mass.

Thousands of Armenian Americans from all sections of the United States and Canada attended funeral rites said for the intrepid freedom fighter at historic Trinity Church, Copley Square, Boston, Mass., on Sunday, March 18. The High Holy Mass of Requiem was said by the Rt. Rev. Arsen Simeoniantz assisted by other priests of the Holy National Armenian Apostolic Church. Archbishop Serabion Oulohojian, of the Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation, was in the Sanctuary.

Elegists at the church included Mr. Kopernik Tandourjian, for the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Bureau, Mr. Meroujan Ozanian, for the Central Committee of the American ARF, Mr. Vardges Aharonian, for the American ARF Committees. Mr. W. Wytwysky, President of the Free Ukrainian Government in Exile, expressed the sorrow of all Soviet-held peoples at the passing of Gen. Dro. Interment was at Mt. Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Mass.

● MORE THOUGHTS OF A GREAT PAINTER:

## II. Musings on Life and Art

HOVSEP PUSHMAN

*Formulas stunt originality.*

*There is no strictly individual color, like life's qualities, each is made up of many colors.*

*God must get very bored with the repetitious demands of memorized prayers. Each prayer should be a free communication between man and his maker, expressing the desires and needs of the moment with suppliant grace.*

*The romantic rose made love to the sun . . . the next morning it suffered repentance with a dew of tears.*

*I like to live exposed to naked reality with an individual sense of selection . . . to walk without shoes and decide on the very stones I step on . . . rather than walk roughshod through life smugly protected by such devices as shoes.*

*One cannot depend on steady perfect light but one can select a perfect time at which to start, then fix the vision and proceed to paint . . . impervious to fluctuating elements.*

*When you have to explain a painting . . . suddenly everything starts to stutter.*

*Colors have legs. Red is swift and advances toward you.  
Green merely ambles along and is retiring.*

*Among the most temperamental colors are violet cobalt and  
cadmium yellow. They fight all colors, refuse to mix and  
blend. When a mixture is attempted, they turn moody and  
look so sullen.*

*So many exhibition pieces are mere show-offs, painted  
for a glamorous moment and expiring in it.*

*The love-making of pigeons on my balcony gives me  
a creative flutter.*

*Only a few painters stand out as colorists, men who  
vibrated vitally to rare hues. In this charmed  
circle belong such names as Velasquez, Titian, and  
Delacroix. These men caught the rainbow in celestial  
nets.*

*During my Paris student day, I recall the fate of  
canvases at salons. Fifty percent of them were  
painted over, twenty-five percent were returned to  
garrets and forgotten, five percent were lost, ten  
percent were cut up and saved in part, and only  
ten percent were sold. Times have certainly changed since those difficult days!*

*Each painting I make is a prayer . . . may someone someday be  
guided to gather them . . . forming a rosary to hang  
in a secluded sanctuary.*



● AN IMPORTANT HISTORICAL DISCOVERY:

# A SCHOLAR EXAMINES OUR PARIS DELEGATES

BY PETER FARADIAN

## THE SCENE

On November 12, 1920, a young Armenian American student at Yale University, New Haven, Conn., completely upset by news of the deteriorating position of his beloved homeland of Armenia; perturbed at the failure of the Western Powers to take positive action to prevent the threatened encroachment on Armenian soil by Turkey and Soviet Russia; and torn with doubts as to the possible effectiveness of the Armenian representatives at the Paris Peace Conference, then still in session, addressed a letter to Professor William Linn Westermann, who had just returned to his desk at Cornell University after service as a member of the U. S. Boundary Commission on Armenia and who, as such, had had extensive dealings with the Armenian representatives in Paris.

The student, Manasseh G. Sevag, now a Professor of Microbiology at the Medical School, University of Pennsylvania, and a world-known authority on Immunocatalysis, Microbial Chemistry, Resistance to Drugs, etc., asked Prof. Westermann for his personal observations on the individuals who comprised the Armenian group at Paris. In the letter reproduced herewith, Prof. Westermann with astonishing and incisive frankness, not only satisfied the curiosity — if indeed it was curiosity — of the young intellectual, but also expressed his valuable opinion on why the situation

in Armenia was "impossible". This opinion in no way condoned the immoral honeymoon of Turkey and Soviet Russia, the joint aggression of the Independent Republic of Armenia, the Sovietization of Armenia — events which had taken place before December 12, 1920, the date of Prof. Westermann's letter to student Sevag.<sup>1</sup>

Prof. Westermann's judgment of each of the individuals mentioned in his letter is especially important. His evaluation throws light on what Western scholars, who were in contact with those men, were thinking of them. Collectively, Westermann's opinions allow the scholar to judge for himself the catholic nature of each group — for though Prof. Westermann considers the Armenians to whom he refers as members of "the Armenian delegation", there were actually *two* Armenian delegations in Paris — the official Delegation of the Independent Republic of Armenia — the governmental delegation — and the so-called Armenian National Delegation, led by Boghos Nubar Pasha, which purported to represent "Western" (Turkish) Armenia, an astonishing situation which led to much confusion in the presentation of the case of Armenia before the Big Ten, despite as-good-as-could-be-expected cooperation between the two delegations.

<sup>1</sup>The original of this letter was some years ago deposited with the ARF Museum, in Paris, by Prof. M. G. Sevag.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY  
ITHACA, NEW YORK

Dec 12, 1920

Department of Arabic Library  
339 Olden South Hall

Mr. M. S. S. S.  
New Haven

Dear Sir: -

I have been too busy ever now to answer your letter of Nov. 12 and can now answer it only most briefly, as the nature of your request demands many pages of explanation which I cannot go into.

My impression of the Armenian delegation was most favorable. They presented their case in a written printed communication and then verbally before the various delegations, British, French and English, and finally before the Council of Ten, officially. Then Boghos Nubar and Agha Aram represented them. They both spoke well, with emphasis upon the services of the Armenians to the Allies during the war rather than the sufferings of the Armenians. This was wise. Fortunately also they both spoke briefly to the point.

Boghos Nubar is an idealist, thoroughly honest and a convinced patriot. Agha Aram is a gentleman of the best type of culture, less of an optimist than Nubar, and more realistic. I think that his political judgments are somewhat sounder than those of Boghos Nubar, though Nubar's made a better impression before the Council of Ten.

Hovhannes Khan was much more of the diplomatic type, as his training would naturally make him. His diplomatic skill and judgment impressed me most favorably. Garo Pasdermadjian was rather in the background at Paris. But he is a man of the very best type. In him the sincerity, which marked all of these men, is most pronounced. With all of these men I have always dealt most frankly and they have in no case ever betrayed a confidence. They are all able and

drew the confidence of all Armenians. Their honesty goes beyond question. Their temperaments differ widely. For all around ability and sound common sense I am inclined to place Tashir Madzian very high among them.

Malcolm was a man without illusions, a political realist, and academic in his realism. He is not so able as the men before mentioned. Khazian was a dreamer, as a Socialist in theory is quite prone to be, and a most attractive and lovable character. Col. Khogianoff (Khogian) was a very pleasing and impressive personality. Again, the absolute honesty of Khogianoff left a marked stamp upon my memory. Professor <sup>Waghtian</sup> (name now escapes me) of Roberts College was a timid, self-effacing man, not marked by the courage of the others. His sufferings seemed to have broken him.

Do not think that I praise these men beyond what I consider their deserts to be. They are a fine body of men of whom the Armenians should be proud. They worked day and night for Armenia. Their services to their people must be measured by their present position of Armenia. The situation was impossible because the U. S. would not accept the responsibility of a mandate.

Please do not quote me in any writing you may do. I have dealt frankly with you because the Armenians have never betrayed me by a word. If you want further information I would advise that you write to Mr. Herbert Adams Gibbons of Princeton N. J. He knows all of these men, and better than I know them and was not in an official and confidential position.

Anything that the Americans of Armenia do or did, financially or otherwise, to support the Armenian Delegation at Paris was amply justified. Of this I am certain.

Sincerely yours  
W. L. Westerman

The individuals mentioned by Prof. Westermann constituted the following two delegation lineups:

**REPUBLIC DELEGATION:** Avetis Aharonian, Hovannes Khan, Garo Pasdermadjian, Col. Khoganoff (Gorganian); **"NATIONAL" DELEGATION:** Boghos Nubar, (James) Malcolm, Professor (Der Hagopian). The "Khanjanian" mentioned in the letter is unknown.

Obviously, Prof. Westermann devoted some thought to weighing the basic virtues and failings of each of the men mentioned above, and it is interesting to note, as an example, what he has to say about Avetis Aharonian and Boghos Nubar, the head of each respective Armenian Delegation:

**OF AHARONIAN AND BOGHOS NUBAR:** "(Aharonian was) a gentleman of the best type of culture, less of an optimist than Nubar Pasha, and more realistic. I think that his political judgments are somewhat sounder than those of Boghos Nubar, though Nubar Pasha made a better impression before the Council of Ten."

Now, this *better impression* needs some comment. Aharonian was a man of the soil of Armenia who, though educated abroad, and a man of great charm, was not nearly the polished Continental citizen and linguist that Nubar was. Aharonian knew French, but not the fluent French of Nubar: Nubar knew English, Aharonian, very little English. On the other hand, Aharonian had sprung from the "auld sod"; he had participated in the events that had made the Armenian Republic, had suffered and laughed with his people. Boghos Nubar never saw Armenia in his life. He was the scion of a wealthy and influential Egyptian Armenian family, and a lifelong citizen and resident of Egypt. Quite obviously, Nubar, with his command of the essential languages and his European mannerisms and graces, "made a better impression be-

fore the Council of the Ten", precisely because of those affectations — even though Aharonian was "more realistic" and his "political judgments are somewhat sounder" than the leader of the "National Delegation". Prof. Westermann's opinion in regard to the Messrs. Aharonian and Boghos Nubar is invaluable to students of Armenian affairs, especially since the controversy of Aharonian vs. Boghos Nubar still is a lively topic of debate among Armenians.

Since the days of the Paris Peace Conference, certain elements among the Armenian people have regarded the person and reputation of Boghos Nubar Pasha as sacrosanct, above all reproach and criticism. To them, he was the perfect Armenian leader. It is therefore quite interesting to note that in his letter to Prof. Sevag, the western-scholar diplomat Prof. Westermann candidly admits the chivalrous figure of Boghos Nubar — "an idealist, thoroughly honest and a convinced patriot" — yet he considers Aharonian to be the "less optimistic and more realistic" of the two, while Aharonian's "political judgments are somewhat sounder than those of Boghos Nubar." History has proved Prof. Westermann's succinct judgment of these two men to be quite correct.

Of the others in the Republic Delegation, Westermann says:

**HOVANNES KHAN:** "A trained diplomat. . . His diplomatic skill and judgment impressed me very favorably."

**GARO PASDERMADJIAN:** ". . . a man of the best type. In him the sincerity, which marked all of these men, is most pronounced. . . For all around ability and sound common sense I am inclined to place Pasdermadjian very high among them."

**COL. KHOGANOFF:** ". . . a very pleasing and impressive personality. Again, the absolute honesty of Khoganian left a marked stamp upon my memory."

On the other hand, here are Prof. Wester-

mann's evaluation of two members of the "National" Delegation:

(JAMES) MALCOLM: "... was a man without illusions, a political realist and academic in his realism. He is not so able as the men before mentioned" (i.e. Hovannes Khan and Pasdermadjian of the Republic Delegation).

PROFESSOR (der HAGOPIAN): "... a timid, self-effacing man, not marked by the courage of the others. His sufferings seemed to have broken him.

The reader readily sees which of the two delegations, in Prof. Westermann's eyes, was the better equipped in proper personnel to represent the Armenians at Paris. Again, here is an evaluation of some worth to scholars. Prof. Westermann was eminently qualified by background and training to sit and judge the Armenian Dramatis Personae at Paris. Born in 1873, he held degrees from the University of Nebraska, University of Missouri, among these three doctorates. After a number of years of teaching at the University of Missouri, University of Minnesota and University of Wisconsin, he assumed the role of Adviser on Turkish Affairs and Chief of Division of Western Asia, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Paris, and later was a member of the Commission Reporting to the State Department on the Armenian Boundary Division. He returned to active teaching after the Paris meetings, and was the author of a number of scholarly works. He passed away in 1954.

#### DRAMATIS PERSONAE

WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN: Historian, educator and diplomat. In 1920, at the time he wrote the letter to M. G. Sevag, he had just terminated his duties as a member of the commission appointed by the U. S. State Department to report on the Armenian boundary decision. See above.

BOGHOS NUBAR: Prominent Egyptian

Armenian, who was the head of so-called "Western Armenian" or "Turkish Armenian" delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. See above.

AVETIS AHARONIAN: Famed Armenian diplomat, patriot, poet and author and head of the Independent Republic of Armenia Delegation at Paris. As such, he signed the Sevres Treaty. See above.

HOVANNES KHAN (MASEHIAN): Ambassador of Persia to London during the period covered by the Westermann letter. He was a cultured, patriotic Persian citizen who never forgot his Armenian ancestry. So respected was he among world Armenians that he was chosen by American Armenians as one of their four representatives at Paris. Hovannes Khan translated Shakespeare into Armenian.

GARO PASDERMADJIAN: Scion of a noble and wealthy Erzerum (Armenia) family, and a long time liberationist fighter, Garo Pasdermadjian (known also as Armen Garo) was appointed Armenia's plenipotentiary representative (ambassador) to Washington shortly after America's recognition of the Independent Republic, serving until the sovietization of Armenia.

(JAMES) MALCOLM: A wealthy Indian Armenian engineer, who served as a member of Boghos Nubar's delegation in Paris. He is said to have arranged a meeting between Lloyd George and the Zionists, which resulted in the "Balfour Declaration."

KHANJANIAN: No person of this name is known to have been active with either the Republic Delegation or that of Nubar at Paris. It is possible that Prof. Westermann here means H. Kocharian, who was the secretary of the Armenian Republic Delegation, in Paris.

KHOGANOFF: Or Gorganian, an outstanding Armenian general who had origin-



ally been a Tsarist officer. He served as military advisor of the Armenian Republic Delegation.

**PROFESSOR (DER HAGOPIAN):** Prof. Sevag, the recipient of the Westermann letter, feels it almost certain that the Professor to whom Westermann refers was Prof. A. Der Hagopian. He was a Professor of Philosophy at Roberts College, Istanbul, and later served as an interpreter with the Boghos Nubar delegation, in Paris. Avetis Aharonian (see "From Sardarabad to Sevres and Lausanne", *Hairenik Weekly*, July 22, 1942) says Der Hagopian served as the interpreter when Aharonian and Nubar met with President Woodrow Wilson, April 17, 1919.

**HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS:** A great American liberal journalist, an eye-witness of the Armenian massacres at Adana, in 1909, and one the most constant friends of the Armenian people. Gibbons' "The Blackest Page of Modern History" (N.Y., 1916) remains one of the more eloquent statements written in favor of justice for Armenia.

For readers who will have difficulty reading Prof. Westermann's letter from the reproductions included in this article, we offer herewith a typed facsimile of the document:

CORNELL UNIVERSITY  
ITHACA, NEW YORK

Dec. 12, 1920

Department of Ancient History  
239 Goldwin Smith Hall

Mr. M. Sevag  
New Haven

Dear Sir:

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My impression of the Armenian delegation was most favorable. They presented their case in a printed communication and then verbally before the various delegations, British, French and Eng-

lish,<sup>2</sup> and finally before the Council of Ten, officially. There Boghos Nubar and Aharonian represented them. They both spoke well, with emphasis upon the services of the Armenians to the allies during the year rather than the sufferings of the Armenians. This was wise. Fortunately also they both spoke briefly and to the point.

Boghos Nubar is an idealist, thoroughly honest and a convinced patriot. Avetis Aharonian is a gentleman of the best type of culture, less of an optimist than Nubar Pasha, and more realistic. I think that his political judgments are somewhat sounder than those of Boghos Nubar, though Nubar Pasha made a better impression before the Council of Ten.

Hovannes Khan was much more of the diplomatic type, as his training would naturally make him. His diplomatic skill and judgment was rather in the background at Paris. But he is a man of the very best type. In him the sincerity, which marked all of these men, is most pronounced. With all of these men I have always dealt most frankly and they have in no case ever betrayed a confidence. They are all able and deserve the confidence of all Armenians. Their honesty is beyond question. Their temperaments differ widely. For all around ability and sound common sense I am inclined to place Padermadjian very high among them.

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Do not think that I praise these men beyond what I consider their deserts to be. They are a fine body of men of whom the Armenians should be proud. They worked day and night for Armenia. Their services to their people cannot be measured by the present position of Armenia. The situation was impossible because the U. S. would not accept the responsibility of a mandate.

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Anything that the Americans of Armenian descent did, financially or otherwise, to support the Armenian Delegation at Paris was amply justified. Of this I am certain.

Sincerely yours,  
W. L. WESTERMANN

<sup>2</sup>An obvious error. Obviously, the United States delegation is here intended. The "British" and "English" delegations were self-same.

● IN MEMORIAM:

# DR. CLARENCE D. USSHER

B. DER BEDROSIAN

But fifteen days after he celebrated his 85th birthday, a great man departed from this earth, leaving behind him countless people, of all races and creeds, residing in different countries, on different continents, who will keenly miss him. They will miss him not only as an able physician and surgeon, but also as a sincere preacher, as an understanding teacher and, above all, as a fighter for human rights and freedom.

The outstanding and superior characteristic of this great man, Dr. Clarence D. Ussher, was his unselfish devotion to the service of human upliftment. He selected that vocation above material success and profit which would have been assured him as a practicing physician in Kansas City. This sterling quality cannot be understood by other kinds of so-called public servants, whose sole purpose is to utilise every ideal as a tool to win for themselves fame and fortune, a type vividly portrayed by the immortal Armenian author, Raffi, who grouped them under the name of "Kavor Bedros"

Dr. Ussher definitely was not one of these. He lost himself completely in his tasks, never thinking about what would happen to himself or his family, but only considering what should be done for the betterment of mankind.

His strong sense of justice automatically made him a friend and ally of the oppressed and downtrodden a perpetual warrior against tyrannical oppressors wherever they might be found.

Born in Aurora, Illinois, September 5, 1870, Dr. Ussher in his youth graduated from high school at Montreal, Canada. Afterwards he completed a course at a Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, then worked his way through the University Medical College of Missouri. He had established himself as a successful practicing physician in Kansas City, with a large practice, when Dr. James L. Barton, Secretary for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, urged him to go to Turkey as a Medical Missionary.

Dr. Ussher who seemed to be marked by destiny for the tremendous tasks ahead of him, accepted Dr. Barton's proposition; and sacrificing his well-established, lucrative practice and with only a very small fraction of his large annual income as subsistence salary, sailed from Boston on S.S. *Armenian* for Constantinople, May 12, 1898. In observing all of his activities as a whole it appears that from the day he landed in the Turkish capital, he entered into an everlasting quarrel with the Turkish authorities. The first of frequent clashes with them occurred immediately after his landing. It concerned a permit for him to practice in that country as physician. In his book *An American Physician In Turkey*, Dr. Ussher writes: "In Turkey any ignorant native

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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Mr. Der Bedrosian was a National Secretary of the Armenian General Renevolent Union.

quack might practice unmolested. Diplomated physicians from other countries, however had to pass an examination by the Imperial Medical College. . . before the lives of the subjects of this paternal government could be entrusted to their care. I had made a formal application for this examination, which had heretofore, been conducted through an interpreter from the American Legation, but after several postponements I was informed. . . that no interpreter would be permitted; that a new law had gone into effect that very day requiring examinations to be conducted in Turkish or French only. In vain I urged that it was unfair to subject me to the terms of a law passed. . . On the date set for my examination the president of the faculty told me. . . the only way. . . I could secure the privilege of examination by an interpreter would be to 'ask our Ambassador to ask the Minister of Foreign affairs to request the Minister of Interior to ask the Minister of Education to ask the grand Vezier to ask. . . the Sultan to permit it. . .' this looked like postponing the test till I should learn the language. I had acquired some. . . French during my school life in Montreal . . . although I had not spoken the language. . . and had no technical vocabulary, I informed them I would try French. . . They were probably eager for the twenty-five pound fee. . . to be divided amongst them. . . they passed me, the questions being asked and answered by an amusing ture of French, Latin, and pantomime."

After another clash, this with custom officials for the transportation of his belongings, Dr. Ussher left for Harpoot; and at the end of one year's service there, left for Van to relieve Dr. George C. Raynolds from his medical duties, so that the latter might have more time for relief and other social activities.

Dr. Ussher liked Van! This historical and ancient city nestled on the eastern shore



DR. CLARENCE D. USSHER

of Lake Van at the foot of Mount Ararat — home of Khrimian Harig — and the high Armenian plateau with its invigorating climate and surrounding high mountains piercing the azure sky with their everlasting white caps of snow, seemed to have captivated him from the start. Almost at once he felt at home in his new surroundings. He found that his thoughts were attuned with the thoughts and aspirations of the freedom-loving Armenian population, whom he loved and who dearly loved him!

Those of us who had the good fortune of knowing him personally as students in his English class, and later as teaching associates, were well aware of his dreams and sentiments for Armenia. As a free young son of a free young land—the United States — he quickly sensed and understood the burning desires and ambitions of a subjugated people; and having a full concept of their problems, earnestly devoted himself to their cause.

Shortly after his arrival at Van he was

asked to escort two girls — Miss Elizabeth Barrows, of America, and Miss Virginia Wilson, of England — from Erzerum to Van. To accomplish this mission he had to battle the Turkish authorities — again — all the way. Here are some brief sketches concerning this adventure, as found in his book:

"Erzerum. . . is surrounded by a wall eighty feet thick; its gateways are like tunnels, a sentry is always at the inner entrance. To my surprise I was taken under guard by four soldiers to the Mission house . . . a strange situation had developed. . . a telegram had come . . . from friends of Armenia (in London) saying: 'committee decide Wilson stay. . .' The word *Committee*, understood as a symbol for revolutionary society, had aroused the suspicion of the officials at Constantinople who had ordered the Governor General of Erzerum to stop the ladies from proceeding further and to return them to Constantinople. Long negotiations by American and British Consuls had not changed the order. This, however, did not stop Dr. Ussher, who was determined to get the ladies out, and he did so, battling his way on every step to Van. He writes: ". . . 'Halt!' called a Turkish soldier. I returned with a wave of my hand and hurried on to overtake the rest. Halfway through the tunnel, another Soldier ran and seized my bridle. 'Let go', I exclaimed, breasting my horse against him and raising my whip. He let go and I emerged. . . to be greeted by . . . another soldier . . . who drew a cartridge. . . and loading, leveled his rifle at me. . . I rode my horse against the barrel of his rifle, glared at him and demand the meaning of this insult. . . calling for the officer of the guard demanded the name of the man who had leveled his rifle at me. 'we have orders not to let the Americans out.' 'Orders not to let Americans out! Who dared give such an order? . . . ." Further on the road, other clashes

such as this: "I heard shouting and saw four men galloping towards us . . . when they caught sight of me they lowered the muzzles of their rifles. . . and loaded. . . the four men proved to be gendarmes, encircled the party. . . the fourth gendarme, who from a short distance was covering the party, leveled his rifle at me, but I turned on him so suddenly that he dropped it. Then I wheeled my horse and had the four men in front of me. . . I threw a cartridge into my rifle and aimed at the officer's right shoulder. Something in the snap of my voice and the flash of eye assured them that I meant business and all four drew back and threw up their hands. . ."

Within a year of this horrowing journey, Miss Elizabeth Barrows became the bride of Dr. Ussher. The marriage ceremony was performed by Dr. George C. Raynolds in the presence of high dignitaries. The British consul gave the bride away and the invited guests included the Governor General of that time and high-ranking government officials of the province, the Prelate and dignitaries of the old Armenian Church, consuls of the British, Russian and Persian governments, and a great many other important personages of the region. The entire high school hall, which was also used for church services before the regular Church building was erected, was banked to the ceiling with multiple kinds and colors of the most fragrant flowers, the likes of which are hard to find anywhere else. The path of the bride and groom was strewn with rose petals by flower girls, one of whom is now Mrs. Der Bedrosian.

The most gracious American lady who became Mrs. Ussher was well qualified to assist and inspire him to carry on his heavy duties. She had attended Northfield Seminary and the Women's College of Baltimore, at which she was president of her class both in junior and senior years and, after graduation was permanent class president.

The Usshers were blessed with three boys: Dr. Neville T. Ussher of Santa Barbara, California; Sydney R. Ussher of South Casco, Maine; Richard B. Ussher of Santa Rosa, California; and two daughters Mrs. Roger D. Baker of Durham, North Carolina; and Dorethea who died in her ninth year.

The activities of this dedicated couple and their associates before the first world war, consisted of educational, religious, relief and hospitalization work. Dr. Ussher made the first hospital as modern as circumstances would permit and directed it as its only physician and surgeon. He personally trained the hospital staff — from kitchen help to nurses — to perform their tasks as efficiently as possible.

The outbreak of World War I triggered the barbaric instinct of the Turkish government to destroy cruelly anything Armenian and to completely annihilate all Armenians, who had been living in their ancient homeland centuries before there had been the semblance of a Turkish Nation. To carry out this fiendish plan the Armenian inhabitants of communities were systematically deported to the deserts, gruesomely slaughtered along the roads, and left to be perish helplessly on the deserts.

The Armenians of the City of Van observing this carnage, unanimously decided to stand in self-defense. The decision was made by all factions and parties together, uniting under one command, to present one common front in defending their quarters in the City.

Thus began the heroic defense and the memorable Siege of Van in 1915. During those terrible days Dr. Ussher and his associates spared none of themselves. He ordered the hospital staff to give preference to the wounded warriors and to give them the utmost care. He himself attended to the wounded day and night. His wife devoted herself to the care of infants whom she had

gathered together. Her son, Neville, had found two of the babes near the corpse of their mother in a hole, used as shelter. Thirteen year old Neville had organized a Boy Scout troop from the Armenian lads of his age and was guiding them to carry water to fighting men in trenches, procuring milk for the infants, gathering spent enemy bullets which were remolded and fired back again and again. Once when the enemy fire became too heavy, Neville was heard singing a revolutionary song in Armenian: "There was no moon, it was a dark night, a platoon was going quickly, quickly."

Besides the enormous and complex activities which kept him constantly occupied with hardly any rest. Dr. Ussher was also frequently visiting Governor General Bey trying to have the siege lifted and a stop put to the bloodshed. But when at last Jevdet demanded the unconditional surrender of the leaders and all defenders or. . . "within twenty four hours he would render the whole Armenian quarters into a pile of rubbles. . ." Dr. Ussher left him abruptly in anger, and returning, told to the Committee in charge of defense: "There is no hope or any other way but to fight it out. . .".

This seemed to be the climax, and the desperate battle continued in earnest with all the might and ingenuity of the heroic defenders. Assuming that the source of inspiration for the defense was Dr. Ussher, Jevdet had said: "The next time I see Dr. Ussher I will plunge a dagger in his heart with my own hand!"

In addition to all this strife, an epidemic of typhus broke out. The already too-heavy burdens of these dedicated people became heavier, yes, unbearable. Completely exhausted by overwork, their vitality weakened, the Usshers too were overcome by the epidemic. The angelic Mrs. Ussher passed on while her husband was unconscious.



At this time the Russian army which had liberated Van with the help of Armenian Volunteers was ordered to withdraw making it necessary for all Christians to evacuate their homes and follow them to Russia. On August 3, 1915 Dr. Ussher left Van, carried in a litter hung between two horses. Arriving in the Russian Caucasus he gradually regained his health and again became active among the refugees. He was the only American in Erivan at the time of the Bolshevik advance into Armenia, and his presence accomplished a good deal in checking papic and curbing violence. He was well-known and highly respected throughout Armenia and even in Georgia and Azerbaijan for his long services in Turkey, whence came most of the refugees.

Returning to America he retired from active duty in 1935. A few years later he married again and his wife, Mrs. Ellen Brown Ussher, who survives him, lives in Santa Monica, California.

In the preface of his book *An American Physician In Turkey*, he shows his love and devotion to Van and Armenians: "It has seemed to me most desirable that the story of the siege of Van and the flight from Asia. . . of the present survivors of a martyred race should be told in detail and put into permanent form. As the Armenians of

Van were believed to have rebelled against the Ottoman government, it is important that the facts of the case should be made widely known, and that their actual loyalty, their patience under almost unimaginable provocation, and their heroism when loyalty and patience proved of no avail, should receive their due need of publicity and appreciation. I speak of what I do know by witness of my own eyes and ears, my own nerves quivering in sympathy with the torture of the people I have labored for, my own fellowship with their sufferings. . . my dearest hope is to be able to build a memorial hospital in Van to take the place of the one that has been destroyed. . . The proceeds of this book will be devoted to that purpose. . . ."

It is fitting perhaps, to close the brief sketch of this great man's life, whose departure will always remain as a great loss to the world in general and to the Armenians as their devoted friend, in particular, with the words he used in dedicating his book: "*To the Memory of my beloved wife and the other Martyrs, American and Armenian, who have laid down their lives for the Name of Christ in Turkey during the great World War.*" It well may be added also, *to the Sacrificial Services of Dr. Clarence D. Ussher.*

● PORTRAITIST WITH A MISSION:

## YOUSUF KARSH

ROUBEN GAVOOR

"Karsh, you have immortalized me," exclaimed that dynamic English statesman and publisher, Lord Beaverbrook, upon seeing his portrait.

Comments such as this from the great personalities of the world have in no way affected this fine but modest artist. He has remained humble, gentle and affable in manner. During the course of his brilliant career, as an internationally recognized portraitist, he has been showered with innumerable high honors by the world's greats. He has, without doubt, portrayed more celebrated men and women than any other contemporary portraitist. The number of these celebrities runs into the hundreds and includes nearly all the leaders of World War II and the decade since. The identifying qualities of the artist's photographs have made him almost as renowned as his subjects. In essence, the mark of his greatness as an artist is that very few portraitists have penetrated as deeply as he, "with a photographic eye", into the very depths of human character. Mr. Karsh is not only a master photographer, but a portraitist with a mission. That mission is to immortalize the "faces of destiny" for posterity.

How did this modest man, in his late forties, with a humble beginning gain such fame? To give the clue is to begin from the very beginning.

Yousuf Karsh was born in Mardin, the southern part of Armenia-in-Turkey, on December 23, 1908. His grandfather, from whom in all likelihood he inherited his artistic tendencies, was a master craftsman engraver, who took pride and joy in his artistic creations. His father was a successful importer and exporter. "I lived," he writes, in the foreword to *Faces of Destiny*, "in Armenia to see Christmas and all that it stands for made an orgy of brutality and murder, and to see my friends and kinfolk mercilessly beaten and shot, to die in the streets simply because they were Armenians. That reign of horror has happily passed away never to return; but the massacres of 1915-18 will remain with me always, a searing scar on my consciousness".

As luck would have it, the family was miraculously saved from the holocaust. In 1923, the family sent young Yousuf to Canada, where his uncle, A. G. Nakash, had a photographic studio in Sherbrooke, Province of Quebec. The eager lad attended school and also worked in his uncle's studio. He soon discovered that photography held a fascination for him.

"The plan was", Mr. Karsh states, "that I should learn to become a doctor, but that was left to another of my three brothers, for in Canada I discovered something I had never known before: freedom to be

happy. I quickly came to love Canada and its frank, kindly people, and I longed to make the friends I had known in Mardin understand the kind of world I had found across the ocean. At hand were my uncle's art and studio, and photography seized my imagination as a means of recording my impressions. Satisfied finally that my interest in photography was genuine, my uncle took me to Boston and introduced me to his friend, John H. Garo".

It was the best thing that could have happened in the young life of Yousuf, because Garo, also of Armenian birth, at that time was unquestionably one of the finest artists of the camera. Sensing the potentialities in Yousuf, Garo agreed to accept him as an apprentice for six months. Instead Yousuf remained with his master for three years. He not only learned the great master's technique, but was also exposed to the intellectual and aesthetic stimulation of the atmosphere of the studio, which at that time was the mecca for the writers, actors, and musicians.

"There," emphasized Karsh, "I absorbed the ideas that moulded my standards in the years that followed."

When Karsh mentions the name of his master, his poetic, interesting face takes on an entirely different expression. He speaks as reverently about Garo as he would of a saintly man.

"I remember," he reminisced, "once he called me to the window of his studio, which was facing the Boston Common and said: 'my boy, as I gaze at the commons from this height this is what I see. . . Do you see the same thing?'"

"In all honesty, I must confess," he said, "I could not see what he saw and I told him so. Expecting to be reprimanded, instead he put his artistic hands on my shoulders and said:

'My boy, you have learned all I can teach,

you now have the makings of a great artist.'"

Karsh's apprenticeship ended and he returned to Sherbrooke remaining there long enough to decide where he should permanently settle and apply all that he had learned from his master.

"I was," he confesses, "immensely ambitious and self-confident and remember debating at length in my youthful conceit whether I should honor London, New York, or Washington with my zealous presence. But always, when the choice finally made, there remained the tug of Canada, and it was my deep affection for my adopted country that decided me to make my home in Ottawa. It was the best choice I could have made, for Canada's capital city was soon to become one of the important crossroads of the world, a frequent meeting place for the giants of the earth."

In visiting Canada with the ultimate purpose of interviewing its illustrious citizen, one cannot fail but to sense this phenomenon: Our good neighbor in the North, and particularly its beautiful, small capital, has absorbed Karsh as completely as Karsh has been absorbed by that vast country affectionately, reverently, and profoundly. Both are proudly attached to each other and both are mutually grateful for belonging to each other. They are inseparable. This may sound a bit strange to a native-born Canadian for he may have difficulty in grasping the full significance of such a relationship. But for one who has become Canadian by choice, it is not an unnatural feeling, especially when that person has been denied in his mother country the freedom to worship, and denied the freedom to feel free.

In 1933 Karsh opened his present studio in Ottawa. His work soon became well-known in the capital city. His portraits of the Governor General of Canada, Lord Bessborough, and of Lady Bessborough,

drew particular attention from the Canadian officials. As a result of this unexpected reception, in 1935 Karsh was commissioned to do official Canadian Government portraiture. This, in turn, led to the assignment of photographing the Drama Festivals, an annual event of the Canadian amateur theatre. In watching and shooting scenes from numerous plays, Karsh sensed the importance of theatrical modes of lighting. He began to experiment with lighting effects which eventually became an essential element in his mature photographic technique.

It was during this association with this theatre group that Karsh met the vivacious, talented Solange Gauthier, French by birth, who was an active member of the Little Theatre. They were married in 1939, and she has since played an important role in her husband's life's work both as his companion and advisor.

Others, too, have been instrumental in Karsh's phenomenal success, to whom he is eternally grateful and has expressed his gratitude in the preface of his *Faces of Destiny*.

"As a young man starting out, Ottawa certainly gave me opportunities that I might never have received in any other city. Among these was the Ottawa Drama League, where I first met my wife, where I became intensely interested in stage lighting, and where I came in contact with Lord Duncannon, the son of the Governor General, the Earl of Bessborough, and Lady Bessborough. Photographing Lord Duncannon led to photographing Lord and Lady Bessborough, which in turn started a chain of circumstances that enabled me to photograph the distinguished persons who appear in the present collection.

"I do not need to identify all the links in that chain nor can I name all the good people who have long had my gratitude. . . . In Ottawa, in addition to Lord and Lady Bessborough, I was fortunate to meet true



YOUSUF KARSH

greatness in the person of John Buchan, Lord Tweedsmuir, and to count among my friends and well-wishers, Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King. Without Mr. King's personal interest and his gracious help, many, perhaps most, of the portraits in this collection would never have been made. . . ."

During the tragic turmoil of the war, Ottawa became the second capital of the free world. Many great wartime officials visited this serene city. Among the distinguished visitors was Winston Churchill. Following the latter's address to the Canadian Parliament in December, 1941, the late Prime Minister W. L. MacKenzie King brought the British Prime Minister to Karsh. Exhausted after a strenuous speech, Churchill plopped a cigar in his mouth, sat stiffly and commented: "Shoot." Karsh hopefully handed him an ashtray. Churchill kept on smoking his cigar. "Please forgive me, Sir", Karsh murmured, and gently removed the cigar. The belligerent glare which ensued, created the very mood which the young artist was seeking and he quickly clicked the shutter. The result was the immortal portrait, which was

published throughout the world as a symbol of Britain's fighting spirit in her hour of crisis.

It was this portrait of Churchill that first won for Karsh international attention. At the request of the Canadian Government he spent two months in England photographing the wartime greats for the Canadian archives. Among the sixty celebrities who faced Karsh's camera were their Majesties the King and Queen and the Princess Elizabeth (the present Queen); Lord Wavell, then Viceroy of India; Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England; U. S. Ambassador Winant; Lord Beaverbrook; Clement Attlee; Ernest Bevin; G. B. Shaw; H. G. Wells; Admiral Viscount Mountbatten; Jan Christian Smuts. Life Magazine assigned Karsh to make studies of U.S. leaders, which included Charles Evans Hughes, Bernard Baruch, Harold Ickes, General Eisenhower, John L. Lewis, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, President Truman, H. I. Stimson, General Marshall, Henry Wallace, General Pershing, Cordell Hull, James Forrestal, and many more. Another Life Magazine commission took the photographer to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco in 1945.

In 1946, Karsh published his first volume—*Faces of Destiny*, which has virtually become a collector's item. It contains 75 of his finest pictures with his notes on the subjects. The notes on his subjects are as penetrating as the studies of his subjects. Before delving in more detail into this remarkable volume, it would be fitting to cite a few examples of his adventures with his subjects by way of illustrating how this fine artist copes with the most difficult problem—the handling of man.

Karsh does extensive research on each subject before sittings. When he comes face to face with them, he knows what their interests are and is thus able to keep them alert and interested. Occasionally he pro-

vokes his subjects. In other words, Karsh's technique "consists in his ability to induce his subjects, by soothing or provocative conversation, to fall into characteristic unself-conscious poses."

When Karsh was making the preliminary preparations to photograph George Bernard Shaw, the latter's secretary laid the ground rules—"no lights, no big camera, only five minutes." Soon the Irish wit appeared on the scene. He wanted to know why he was being photographed. Karsh explained about the commission from the Canadian Government. The play-wright suggested that they should have sent England's well-known artist, Augustus John, to paint a portrait so they'd get something good. Karsh shot back: "That that was why he had been commissioned—to be sure it would be good."

Shaw was truly enjoying himself. He liked the little man's impudent, fascinating and direct approach. And when he learned his nationality, Shaw exclaimed:

"Good! I have many Armenian friends. But to keep them strong and healthy they should be exterminated every little while . . . . You may have five minutes."

"Make it ten", suggested Karsh.

"When I said five I meant ten."

Hours later, as Karsh packed his lights and big camera, Shaw said to him: "Come back and photograph me again when I'm 90."

On another occasion when Karsh was photographing Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, the esteemed, dignified Juror sat statuesquely and obediently for 45 minutes before intoning: "And now, let thy servant depart in peace."

From a corner of his office, without being seen John L. Lewis watched Karsh drape a red velvet cloth over his head and peep from behind the white camera. Surprised, he roared: "What the hell is going on?"



"Sir", began Karsh, "I came here to take your picture. Once you kept your hat on. Once you were reading your mail. The third time you refused to look at the camera. Now you say you will pose no more. So I am taking a picture of your chair. I will call the picture: 'This is where John L. Lewis would be sitting if he had kept his promise'. Please, sir, be quiet."

Though scowling and protesting at the order of the photographer, the colorful but surely intimidator sat down and faced the camera.

Karsh is proud to admit that his French wife has been responsible for some of his triumphs. When Harold Ickes posed for him dead-pan Mrs. Karsh finally said, "We're from Canada, Mr. Secretary, and we hear much about the Canal Pipeline project up there. What do you think of it?"

The Interior Secretary became meditative about the \$134 million fiasco. As he began to comment, "his face contorted in curmudgeonish outrage", and Karsh made one of his best photographs.

In photographing King George VI in London, Karsh found the Buckingham palace backgrounds too ornate. "On the specified hour," Karsh relates in his notes, "a door opened and a voice announced, 'His Majesty, the King'. I bowed and when I looked up I found a blond sailor in Admiral's uniform smiling down at me, gracious and kindly. . . . When I saw the King face to face, I knew I needed something simple against which I could show him for hearts and bodies. As he talked, the old gray Army-issue blankets and His Majesty helped to hand it in place to blot out the Palace ornaments.

After taking several pictures, Karsh finally caught the pose he wanted: a trace of His Majesty's suffering and His simple dignity.

Such fascinating anecdotes connected with Karsh's mission in the realm of his

adventures in photography are numerous. Even deciding which ones to select for this profile is in itself a difficult undertaking, because each one reveals some facet of this amazing artist's personality. The few that have been cited perhaps should suffice, but this selection at random will be inadequate without the one given below. It was penned by James L. McConaughy, Jr. and appeared in the October 1947 issue of the *Esquire*. It must be quoted in toto to do it justice:

"One of his most difficult sitters was an 80 year old mother. The old lady had huge gnarled red hands. Self-consciously she hid them in the folds of her dress. Karsh sensed the trouble instantly.

"Gently he described her hands as he saw them. They had raised a family; they were honest hands that had broken virgin land and made it nourish those she loved. They had sparked life into newborn infants, cooled fevered foreheads, soothed aches in hearts and bodies. As he talked, the old hands crept out from her dress and relaxed in her lap. Self-consciousness gone, the old lady smiled, 'you'll make everything all right, won't you, Mr. Karsh'?"

It is said of Karsh that his photographic portraits are without peer. His real genius is psychology: he knows how to handle people. Winston Churchill summarized it when he said: "You can make a roaring lion stand still". And Eleanor Roosevelt (speaking of the Churchill picture episode) remarked: "It must have been Churchill's first major defeat". Thomas Mann commented: "These photographs are the best portraits of myself I have ever seen. The study of the hands is a highly remarkable piece of work and reminds me of a drawing by Albrecht Durer." A fine compliment was paid to Karsh by the late Prime Minister MacKenzie King when he wrote in acknowledgement of Karsh's grateful thanks for his assistance on a number of occasions; "I felt at the time

that I was helping to perform a national service. I know now that in this I have succeeded." Elmer Davis once remarked that "Karsh injects more dignity into people than God ever intended." And one Canadian writer had this to say of Karsh's work: "Of all contemporary artists the world over, the most likely candidate for immortality is the photographer, Yousuf Karsh, Armenian-born Canadian Citizen. This statement is made in the full knowledge that Picasso, Roualt, Henry Moore, and other great artists are still alive. When history reaches out for an outstanding of these men it will use Karsh portraits." And last but not least, Karsh has been so aptly described by his wife thus: "I didn't marry a husband; I married a camera, with a lens for a heart. But that little guy surely has genius."

One of Karsh's many contributions to art and culture is his *Faces of Destiny*, published by Ziff-Davis Publishing Company, in 1947. This outstanding book contains 75 photographic portraits, selected from the 500 notables he has photographed. Aside from the unusually fine portraits, the book is made doubly attractive and more desirable because of his discourses on his subjects. Commenting on the book in the *New York Herald Tribune*, Richard F. Crandall ranked Karsh with such photographers as Steichen and Stieglitz. The reviewer also noted Karsh's frequent use of his subjects' hands as elements of composition. "Hands," Karsh has been quoted as saying, "give a more complete expression of character than the face alone. They also allow for more artistic composition in a picture." In a survey of the work of the "photographic virtuoso" in *Popular Photography* magazine, Bruce Downes wrote:

"Karsh has a well-nigh unerring instinct for pictorial composition in which we find the head placement in relation to the hands and surroundings finely placed of the

strong highlight accents." He further observed that Karsh's "lighting method emphasized texture and produced an agreeable luminosity."

Then there have been detractors objecting to the "theatricality" of Karsh's work, but even they, too, have not failed to admire the technical brilliance of his work, the richness and clarity of his prints, and his use of textures and modeling.

When the matter of lighting was brought to his attention, particularly in connection with what some of his detractors have said, Karsh replied: "Of course, they have all the right to their opinion, but they seem to overlook this important aspect: Light is revealing. In the element of light lies a proof of the potentialities of photography. There are an infinite number of variations. The flexibility of the medium is limitless in a capable photographer. That which appears rigid is exquisitely malleable."

Some five years ago, Karsh tried his hand at industrial photography. He was asked by Canada's Atlas Steel, Limited to illustrate the firm's annual report. These series of portraits of steelmen at work were entitled, "Men who make Atlas Steel". Soon he discovered that he had to spend two or three days planning his shots, but could never ask a worker for permission to take his picture until just a few minutes before hand: "Otherwise they would wash up, slick down their hair and look most unnatural."

These series of studies of industrial workers, emphasizing their skill and craftsmanship on the job, their pride in their skill fascinated the imaginative Karsh. Later on, he accepted another assignment of industrial photography for Ford of Canada, Limited. He plans to take a few industrial assignments each year, because he feels that it's more of a challenge than portraiture and claims that it's refreshing to deal with these workers, "after all the tact you must

use with the famous." These photographs and his photographs of celebrities have been exhibited in many cities in this country and in Canada.

A group of Karsh's portraits forms part of the permanent collection of the Brooklyn Department of Photography; of Eastman House, Inc., Rochester, New York; and the Museum of Modern Art, New York City.

For the past several years, Karsh has been concentrating in a new theme — "Men of Peace" — which will include the "creative forces of our time", such as writers, composers, musicians, architects, artists, actors, scientists, religious leaders, philosophers, and educators. He has already photographed such men as Jan Sibelius, Richard Strauss, Georges Enescu, Bertrand Russell, Pope Pius XII, Le Carbusier, Malraux, Jean Cocteau, Hemingway, Steinbeck, Darius Milhaud, Francois Mauriac, Matisso, Picasso, Pablo Casal, Helen Keller, and many other well-known American and European men of arts and letters.

Karsh expects to photograph some 200 famous personalities and will probably use 100 of them in the forth-coming, "Men of Peace". In this connection, his charming wife cited this touching incident:

"When he was photographing Sibelius, he told the great Finnish composer a true story about how a foreman in the North Canadian woods hooked-up a loud speaker and played 'Finlandia' for his lumberjacks, who were Finnish by birth and very dispirited by the Finnish-Russian war. Sibelius was moved to tears and Karsh snapped the shutter."

Though the preparation of "Men of Peace" has taxed Karsh heavily in recent years, nevertheless, he is still quite enthusiastic at the way it is shaping up. Then, too, he finds creative men stimulating. He put it this way:

"I enjoy photographing creative men. I can provoke them and they can provoke

me. Musicians and artists and writers are unpredictable people. I love temperamental subjects. I hate to photograph 'yes men'."

One must appreciate why Karsh prefers photographing creative men, perhaps because he is himself a creative artist and a mixture of many moods. The following varied adjectives are ones used by various writers in describing Karsh: Engaging, intelligent, fascinating, impudent, alert, shrewd observer, gentle, courteous, gracious, stubborn, thorough, fluent conversationalist, expressive, precise, nimble, temperamental when need be, monkish. Like any true artist, his feelings are not static.

Because of his contribution to Canadian art and culture, in January, 1946 the Canadian Government invited Karsh to become one of its chosen citizens and to accept one of the first Canadian Citizenship Certificates.

Karsh has a library of sittings numbering over 12,000, with about 20 negatives for each sitting. The much sought-after portraitist uses an inexpensive white camera, an 8 x 10 with costly lens and a long cable release. Karsh considers the regulation black camera to be depressing. His focusing, which varies in color with his mood, is frequently a rich red velvet lined with gold satin. His photographing missions have taken him to many distant lands, and he travels generally with over 300 pounds of equipment on his missions and commissions. Cost does not deter him from his artistic pursuits.

"Karsh doesn't operate like any other photographer," his wife said. "The physical and financial difficulties never stop him from taking the men whom he thinks belong in pages of history. When we first were married 16 years ago and Karsh was still unknown, I asked him what he wanted — fame or fortune. He replied: 'Fame'; well, I think he's achieved fortune by a long shot.

As the business manager, I can say these trips are darned expensive."

Upon reading many interesting articles on Karsh, the desire for a personal interview seemed more impelling. His willingness to see us prompted us to cross the border where the Canadian inspector politely asked why we were visiting Ottawa.

"To interview one of your illustrious citizens, Mr. Karsh," we answered.

"Oh! I," he said. No further question was asked.

The congenial proprietor of a motel on the highway to Ottawa knew a great deal about the Karshes. He said that Karsh's brother, a successful industrial photographer in his own right, who goes by the name of Malik in order to avoid any confusion, had stopped there on several occasions.

We first met Madame Karsh in the couple's modern home, nestled in the midst of several acres, overlooking the Rideau River, on the outskirts of Ottawa. They have named their estate "Little Wings" because of their many visitors on wings. We found Madame Karsh charming, friendly, hospitable and a perfect hostess. She is vivacious and energetic. Her hobby is study of birds, and rightly so, for birds have found a haven in "Little Wings".

That evening we met the artist. Karsh is short, slight and unusually quick in his movements. He is dark complected. His head, partially bald, is outlined by soft rolls of curly black and silvery hair. His eyes are brown, warm and penetrating. He not only has a winning smile but a winning personality as well. He is a fluent conversationalist and a well-informed person. His command of the English language is superb and speaks with a slight, interesting accent. His native language is Arabic. Much to his regret, he does not speak Armenian — his mother tongue. He is meditative and gives one the impression that he is silently communing with God. He is genteel, dignified

and considerate. Sometimes one finds him in a melancholy mood, probably because of the upheavals during his childhood and his subsequent suffering as a result of them. On the surface, he seems rather nervous, yet one feels completely relaxed with him. And it is delightful to be in his company.

Karsh finds solace and complete relaxation in his home and the beautiful grounds on the hill by the river. He walked us over every inch of the ground, half of which is left as Nature had intended. The other half is beautifully and artistically landscaped by himself, but lovingly cared for by his Dutch gardener, Harry. Gardening and tennis are Karsh's two recreations.

With much sorrow in his voice, Karsh told us that the tall, stately poplars, which border the edge of his grounds, have to be sacrificed for the automobile age.

After this delightful walk, our host and hostess drove us to the Province of Quebec to "Madame Burger" for dinner. Karshes are connoisseurs on food and prefer the French cuisine.

It was this Epicurean taste which created an uproar not only in the Canadian Parliament but also in the length and breadth of the vast virgin country, all because of an innocent remark Karsh had made. This is what happened: Karsh had gone to Prince Edward Island on a photographing mission for the Maclean's Magazine and had criticized the food served in one of the local hotels, and the Magazine had printed Karsh's honest opinion of their food. This criticism touched the sensitivity of the 77 year old super-patriot, W. Chester S. McLure, the fur-farmer and raw fur merchant Conservative MP for Queens, Prince Edward Island. This politician retaliated by savagely attacking Karsh in Parliament, using unsavory and undignified language.

The members of Parliament, the newspapers, the citizens of Canada had become

outraged by Mr. McLure's unbecoming the unfitting remarks made within the confines of the House of Commons, except the Karshes. They were amused by the remarks of "a dear old gentleman of 77".

To calm the incensed populace of the entire country, the Prime Minister was obliged to reprimand Mr. McLure and praise Mr. Karsh.

After a royal dinner, we returned to The Little Wings. We began the conversation by asking Karsh his ideas on all facets of photography. Before he ventured to answer our pertinent questions, he excused himself and left. Moments later he returned and handed us several type-written pages.

"That article", he said, "is by Armando Guzman, the famed South American author, who came all the way from Columbia to interview me. He has fully described my ideas on photography. Please use that."

Karsh has some definite ideas on photography. To him photography is an art, but he considers it an entirely different art — an art which belongs to those whose eyes are born to capture and trained to penetrate the nature of things and beings. He thinks that the artist-photographer, like the poet, is born, not made. In his vision there must be a rich world of photographic poetry, he claims. Karsh believes that photography can rise to the level of art only when the man behind the camera is an artist, but he thinks there is more to it than that. The artist-photographer must recognize that the medium he has chosen is noble, unique, independent, and with not only peculiar limitations but also tremendous possibilities. "Photography", he emphasized, "is a world of reality, and also of fantasy; for instance, here is Churchill; yonder a fantasy — a sky scraper made of drinking strawa. . ."

"Yes, light is revealing in photography and has many potentialities", Karsh stated, "but art begins in the mind, with impres-

sions of the subject. One must get to know the subject, speak with, communicate with him, sense him intuitively. A 'portrait' means something more than the mere recording of fleeting expression. The problem lies in condensing within a single image the essence of a personality."

Karsh readily admits that definition and tonal transition are not peculiar to photography. He compares the tonal harmony of the image with the tonal harmony of an orchestration. The important thing to remember, according to Karsh, is to exercise control over these qualities, otherwise, he cautions, it is impossible to attain photographic eyes where the ordinary photographer sees only with his own eyes.

"First of all", Karsh spoke with assurance, "one must be a born photographer; then comes observation, supplemented by experiment. Through observation one learns to see artistically; experimenting opens up new horizons. Without experimentation there is no progress; and photography is a new art.

"Experimentation should be a discipline for the professional photographer," Karsh continued. "But to be a professional does not necessarily mean to be an artist. Often one finds true artists among amateurs, and there is a reason for this: a certain freedom from purely practical pre-occupation, from conventional beliefs, from distracting interest." Karsh thought for a moment and then, with great emphasis, added: "If photographers hope to attain any artistic value in their photographic works, they must experiment. It is an unhealthy apprehension . . . one must experiment certainly, but systematically, not as a passtime, and without degrading the medium through spurious methods."

Finally, the question of retouching was touched upon. To Karsh retouching is contamination. Yet there is paradox in portraits; the fact that the lens is 'omnivident'

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constitutes a limitation. "When retouching consists of elimination of details which are merely optical 'intruders'", he explained, "then it is possible to allow an insignificant contribution by hand; insignificant in proportion to the total value of the picture. But as for certain imitative processes and grafting practices — Ah, that is something else entirely."

In his chosen profession, Karsh has few if any peers. His ideas on photography, coupled with his vision, imagination, resourcefulness, understanding of human nature, and highly technical ability have been most rewarding. He has been fortunate also, in that, the lives of the members of his immediate family (parents, brothers and sisters) were spared during the holocaust of 1915. With the exception of one brother who is a physician in Waterbury, Connecticut, all are residents of Canada.

The day of our departure from the picturesque Capital of Canada, we visited Karsh's studio. Karsh was in conference, but Mrs. Large, his efficient, kindly secretary, welcomed us and was most informative about the portraits — "Men of Peace" — ornamenting the walls of the reception room, displayed artistically and effectively. It was then that a young man walked in rather hesitantly and asked if it would be all right for him and his wife to look at and, if possible, to study the portraits.

"You see", he said with a note of awe in his voice, "I am a photographer and have a studio in Boston. I have always wanted to see the master's portraits."

To ease his nervousness, we readily admitted that we, too, were originally from Boston and that we, too, were visitors. And, in so doing, suggested that he speak to Mrs. Large. The gracious secretary welcomed the visitors. With great admiration the photographer proceeded to explain the photographic intricacies to his wife. He then asked Mrs. Large if he would be permitted to take a few pictures in the studio. No one could have been happier than he at the moment when his wish was granted.

Soon Karsh came down from his studio.

"I am terribly sorry for being so late", he said. "I had no idea that this unavoidable conference would take so long. Please forgive me."

We assured him that our time was well spent. Pleased, he invited us to his studio and "lab" on an upper level.

"This is the room where I take some of my portraits," he said. "Of course", he interjected, "most of my portraits have been taken in various parts of the world."

We were impressed with the simplicity of his studio and the lack of ostentation in any form. We realized that a great artist need not have an elaborate studio in order to create masterpieces. Karsh's studio is proof of this.

Karsh then took us to the "lab" and introduced us to his two technicians.

The tour completed, we thanked our host for his hospitality and for his many kindnesses. And with a hearty hand shake, we walked toward the door.

## II. ARMENIA AND THE ARMENIANS

Translated by Edward Alexander

### THE ARMENIANS AND WORLD CULTURE

DR. FRIDTJOF NANSEN

The tragedy of the Armenian people lies in the fact that in foreign service they are distinguished by extraordinary ability, but have been denied the good fortune to govern their own country for any length of time. In Byzantium, many of the leading figures and military commanders — and the most efficient — were Armenian; Emperor Justinian's famous commander Nerses, for example, who conquered Italy for his master and was later burned alive for it; or Gourgen (920-942), the victorious general in the War against the Arabs.\* At various times capable emperors of Armenian origin have steered the Byzantine ship of state through every kind of difficulty, preserving and fortifying the power of the Empire. Emperors such as these included Mauricius, Heraclius (whose father was Armenian), Bardanes, Artavasd, Leo V., Basil and others. There were also a line of empresses. Thus, for a long time the fate of the great world empire hung on the decisions and abilities of Armenian rulers.

But despite all this potential, the Armenians could do nothing to help their own

land. The people were well permeated with the feeling of spiritual unity; this was manifest in the tenacious obstinacy with which they remained loyal to their church and its doctrine, and defended it against all attempts at suppression by Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic forces. But they could never attain a truly comprehensive feeling for the fatherland, before which all other considerations are secondary, and which is a precondition for all political freedom and unity. There were several reasons for this situation: the nature of the land itself, which split the people into districts and individual areas which they, under their own chieftains, observed as separate units, so that because of inner dissensions their power of resistance against foreign enemies suffered. Another major cause of the weakening of the people was the frequent migration of large parts of the population; consequently, the country often lost its best elements. The desire to travel

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#### ON THIS SERIES

This is the second in series of translations by Mr. Edward Alexander, head of the Armenian Desk, Voice of America, U.S.I.A. These articles were originally printed as components units of a pamphlet issued in 1941 under the auspices of the Bulgaria Armenian Committee, in Sofia, Bulgaria.

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\* In 942, he captured Edessa, former Armenian capital, from the Arabs, rescuing thereby the picture of Christ which the Saviour had sent to King Abkar.

and seek new horizons lies in the blood of the Armenians as with other gifted people; the power of destiny did more than its due to satisfy this yearning.

Like tidal waves, ever returning hostile hordes, from earliest to recent times, swept over the borders dispersing Armenians to the four corners of the earth. Byzantine Emperors such as Mauricius (582-602), Phokas (602-616), and Basil II (976-1025) often displaced the entire population of subjected Armenian land tracts to Thrace and Macedonia, in order to strengthen those lands against the enemy beyond the Danube and the Bulgarians. For this purpose Phokas alone displaced 30,000 families.

The Armenians in many lands formed colonies and brought efficiency, enterprise and diligence wherever they went. To the East they reached Persia, India, the Sunda Islands and China; to the West Syria, Egypt and the Mediterranean countries in whose great coastal cities they had colonies everywhere. They went to Poland, a hundred thousand strong, to Galicia, Moldavia, Bukovina, Transylvania and Italy. Mass migrations also took place following the invasion by the Seljuk Turks in the 11th century, and later after the Mongol invasions. These countless migrations diminished the Armenian population in the homeland; large stretches of productive land were often depopulated or fell into disuse to be occupied by Kurdish nomads.

Turks, Tatars and Kurds took over the valleys and plains; where once the Armenians had settled as sole ruler, or at least in overwhelming majority, there now arose a strongly mixed population.

Contact with foreign caravan traders might have given stimulus to an intellectual order, but in Armenia the conditions for the development of a higher culture were not especially favorable. The population consisted for the most part of peasants.

The development of a culture demands

people with free time and room to work in, not people who must plow from sunrise to sunset. It demands cities which are suited for the formation of centers of cultural life, wherein the exchange of ideas is stimulated and people of intellect have opportunity. Such urban centers were lacking in Armenia. It was, instead, in the monasteries that the intellectual life took root. The country had no access to the sea, thus no port cities. Consequently, many restless spirits sought the great cultural centers with their opportunities for development: Constantinople and other cities to the West, or the main cities of the Persian Empire to the East. There they developed their intellectual gifts and put them to use for foreigners — but for their homeland these gifts were lost.

On the other hand, the Armenian people were able in the seclusion of their highland to develop an original national culture, and clung tenaciously, often fanatically, to their creations. This was no less true in religious life and the Church, which maintained its independence through all times. This largely independent development made it possible for the gifted Armenian people to contribute not only to the flourishing of Byzantine, but also West European culture.

The Armenians had already emerged as the first people to raise the Christian faith to a state religion, and an extensive religious-cultural influence spread far beyond the borders of the country. Even before the 6th century, allegedly as early as the 4th, in Jerusalem and other parts of Palestine, 70 Armenian monasteries were said to have been founded, not to mention the many monasteries in Egypt, at Sinai, Alexandria and Thebaid. In the 11th and 12th centuries, many Armenians lived in Egypt, while the significant role they played in Byzantine history has already been described.

Contact with the Armenians had its influence on the Teutons as well. It remains

as probable that the Goths are indebted at least in part to the Armenians for the first bits of information on Christianity. Sophus Bugge\* has indicated that the Gothic language of Bishop Ulfilas' translation of the Bible contains many Armenian elements. Perhaps that is explained by the fact that Ulfilas' grandparents had come from Cappadocia — the earlier home of the Armenians where still many lived — in the year 257 as prisoners of war with the Goths and taken to southwest Russia. Just at that time the Armenian Apostle Gregory was receiving his education in Cappadocia. While the Goths controlled the Black Sea they certainly had contact with Armenians, in all probability through Armenian merchants and missionaries. Various features of their architecture, which they later brought to Bulgaria and West Europe, reveal Armenian influence. It is also striking that the West Goths, still at the time of their domination over Spain, had princes with Armenian names, such as Artavasd (c. 710 A.D.).

Such Armenian influences even penetrated up to Scandinavia, and could perhaps explain why for example the cemeteries and building stones at Bohuslen and Blekinge in Sweden bear such a similarity to Armenian gravestones and cemeteries. Even later, there was a still stronger tie. Prof. Magnus Alsen has pointed out to me that Ave Frode, the Icelandic author, speaks in chapter 8 of his book of three "Ermskir," (i. e. Armenians) Peter, Abraham and Stefan, who came to Iceland and described themselves as bishops. Their precepts were "in many respects milder than those of the Bishop Isleiv (1056-1080), consequently the evil elements of the populace were well-disposed towards them, until Archbishop Adalbert sent a letter to Iceland and forbade the people to accept the word of God from them on penalty of excommunication."

These "Ermskir" were obviously Arme-

nian missionaries for this was just about the time of the Seljuk Turk invasions, causing Armenian mass migration to various parts of the world.

★ ★ ★

The development of architecture in the Middle Ages appears to owe much to Armenian influence. Already at the end of the 3rd century, and especially in the 4th and 5th centuries, the Armenians built many churches; but still earlier in the 2nd century they built churches in Syria (Edessa) and east of the Tigris River in Arbela. These were for the most part long churches of the basilica type, and it may be that others like these were built earlier in Armenia and Georgia; the ruins in Nekressi are perhaps the remains of a basilica from the 4th century. In all likelihood, however, an individual religious architectural style had developed in these areas, whose typical form was a dome perched on a quadrangular base. This style has a distant relation with oriental forms.

The Armenians stood up well first under Median then Persian sovereignty; later they came in close contact with the Parthian Empire from which their Arsakid dynasty originated. Armenian princes and nobles were always favorably looked upon and neither the Sassanids\* nor Rome nor Constantinople tried to win their sympathies. These political relations also left their imprint on architecture.

There is good reason to believe that the square structure with dome had been built originally as a heathen temple. In this connection, in other archeological remains, there are indications of a base with stairs, outside of which ran the encompassing wall of the Armenian Church. These bases look exactly like those which led up to the old temples and places of sacrifice. In the churches to the south, in Syria, or the west, in

\* The Persian dynasty.

Asia Minor or Europe, one finds nothing similar to this.

The central cupola customary to the Armenian Church is without doubt of Oriental origin and comes probably from Persia.

When, a few hundred years later, religious architecture began to develop in the West, it did so under strong Eastern influence. This influence came not only from Constantinople, but to a greater degree directly from the Near East: Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia and Georgia. Doubtless emigrant Syrians and Armenians were the agents of this influence.

Some features of the Roman style are met in the East quite early — earlier in any case than in Europe. The utilization of the heavy column, arch-frieze, the cubiform capital, blind vault and slender high pilasters on the outside, the funnel-shaped portal which is significant for European architecture of the Middle Ages in its narrow series of vaults and half-columns — all of these features are found quite early in Armenia.

The decorative use of darker and lighter stones in layers could well have been learned by the Armenians from the Chaldeans; it later found entry in Italy, in Genoa and Florence. The barrel vault which took the place of the wooden ceiling of the basilica, originated in Mesopotamia.

The cupola-on-the-square was the principal feature of Armenian and Georgian architecture. Already in the Middle Ages, this style appeared in Europe; it was realized in the Cathedral of St. Sophia and was then transplanted to the West, probably through Armenians and the relationship of the Goths to the Armenians. A series of churches and baptisteries in this Armenian style stand in Athens, Northern Italy (Milan), France (Germigny des Pres, near Orleans) and in other places; also in the many churches on Mt. Athos (Greece) this influence betrays itself many times.

The quadrangle-with-dome was brought to its highest development in West Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries by the masters Brunelleschi, Alberti, Leonardo, Bramante and Vignola (the Church of Jesus in Rome), and reached its full blossoming in the Cathedral at Florence and in St. Peters in Rome. We also know, among other things, the drawings and sketches of Leonardo which are far too closely related to the Armenian quadrangle-with-dome-type church for one to believe that they would have originated without direct knowledge by him of those prototypes.

The prevailing opinion is that Constantinople influenced Armenian architecture, not the contrary. Against which it must be argued that the Armenian Church was founded long before the Byzantine and, since the Council of Chalcedon, stood in bitter opposition to it. Armenian structural style differs from the Byzantine very sharply in its severity, economy and distinction in the use of decoration, namely, its aversion to all types of pictorial representation with religious content. It stands here in blunt contrast to Hellenic art and culture, and reveals more of a relationship with that religious attitude which found expression in the doctrine of Zarathustra, according to which the Deity was a Divine Essence of supernatural abstract ideas, which one could neither embody nor represent in human form. This view stems from the profound and serious religious concepts of a people to whom religion signified something more spiritual and less obvious than to the easy-living populations of the great cultural cities.

The cult of Jahweh and later Islam also contain no pictorial representations. This aversion to pictorialism has left clear traces in Byzantine history: the iconoclasm of 726-843 was certainly in part a purifying storm against ugly superstition. The movement was nourished through Armenian influence and promoted by Emperors of Ar-



menian origin. This church movement propagated itself up until Luther and the Puritans.

The greatest innovation of the Middle Ages in art, the Gothic, also appeared to owe its stimulus to the Armenian people. It can no longer be overlooked that several features peculiar to Gothic architecture are seen in Armenia on churches and other edifices several centuries before the development of the Gothic in Europe.

This is especially true of the Cathedral of Ani, a triapsal basilica-type church whose walls and roof still stand today. The Cathedral of Ani was completed in the year 1001 A.D. during the reign of King Gaghiik I by the architect Drtad, who also built the Argina Cathedral at Kars-Chai, similar in style to Ani.

In the year 980, Drtad was called to Constantinople by Emperor Basil to repair the St. Sophia Cathedral which had been damaged by an earthquake. The Cathedral at Kutais is widely known to bear a striking similarity to the European churches later in the Gothic period. But to a still greater degree is this true of the Cathedral of Ani, which had already been built. Its style displays a transitional form from typical Armenian to Norman-Gothic and shows some of the peculiarly Gothic features, such as the pointed arch and the groups of columns. The similarity is so striking that many art historians, firmly convinced of the purely European origin of the Gothic, maintain that the Ani Cathedral must have been repaired in the 13th century by West European architects. But all argument is futile; if the age of the Cathedral in its final form had not been established with sufficient certainty, it still would remain a fact that similar 'Gothic' features in more or less clear imprint appear also on many other Armenian churches of the same and earlier periods.

This church style developed presumably

when the Mesopotamian basilica-type long church with barrel vaults to the south was taken over and a composite form created between it and the dome-on-quadrangle church with the gallery and the four free-standing central columns. Thus arose the triapsal basilica. The oldest structure in this style was probably the Gregorian Church at Dovin, built at the beginning of the 7th century and destroyed by earthquake in the 9th.

Prominent Gothic features of the Ani Cathedral and other churches of this type which must be noted are the supporting pointed arch, specifically a main arch for connecting the four columns, and a support for the central dome. The pointed arch is found in secular buildings as well, such as Ani Castle. The grouped columns derive in logical development, through a number of middle stages, from the four corner pillars on which the dome rests. The rib vaults are suggested in several Armenian churches and cloisters. Finally, mention is necessary of the supports visible from without, which buttress the walls bearing the central dome. We have here the same architectural ideas which are expressed also in the Gothic supporting arches, and which could have led to their origin.

These early beginnings of the Gothic could have been brought to West Europe by the Armenians who, in the 11th and 12th centuries, went in groups to most major countries. Perhaps also the fact that the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia had close contact with the Crusaders, hence with West Europe, played an important role.

Thus came the Gothic — so significant a creation of the Middle Ages for Western culture which very early received major stimulus from a small gifted people at a time when they were engaged in desperate struggle against overwhelming hordes of invaders.

(From the book "Betrayed People," by F. Nansen, Leipzig, 1928).

## V

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE ARMENIANS

PROF. JOSEPH STRZYGOWSKI

The Armenian domed structure was, like the cult of Mithras and Manichaeism, an Aryan offshoot, taken up in Europe and the Mediterranean with incredible speed, together with features common to the Greco-Roman and Norman Germanic basilica.

The coming of Armenian art occurred just in those centuries which are known in Europe as the Dark Ages: the time in which the old culture, owing to inner weakness and the deluge of Nordic and Eastern peoples, was hardly in a position to win new ground for a reorganization of its intellectual status. While in Europe everything was disorder and confusion, in Armenia despite the Byzantine and Persian counter-currents seeking to gain ground, a steady growth in the national movement could be observed. This already had significance for the rest of the world because it happened at a time when the Mediterranean world collapsed, and also because in Armenia, unlike Constantinople and Baghdad, there was a court to draw the necessary forces from all major countries.

Church and State went hand in hand in 4th century Armenia and were both national under the leadership of the Arsacids. Consequently, a national conviction was developed and vigorously maintained in Armenia through the hectic centuries (until around 1000 A.D.) which, while all other nations and churches fell before the power of Rome and Islam, made it possible for an individuality to develop there. Thus, Armenia was able to once again exert a final influence through the general westward advance of the East, later

as a reaction on pilgrims, merchants and the Crusaders, and still later in the Renaissance through the medium of migrating artists. One is compelled to infer that these influences, filtering towards the West through East Europe, were at all times equally effective and that the significance of Armenian art, until now overlooked, was not minor.

The Middle Ages in art, generally speaking, signifies the advance of art forms North, as well as mass migrations to the South and West. Armenian church architecture, directly derived from the house building of the Iranian East Aryans, attests such a strain as for instance the decoration of braided bands, with which it is permeated. The spreading of its influence took place already in early Christian times, first through the migrations of the Armenians and Armenian artists, then through migrations of the Goths from the South Russian steppes through the whole of South Europe to Gaul and Spain, finally through the propagation of the Pauline Doctrine of Armenia out over the entire south of Europe.

What is retained of traces of the domed structure in Constantinople, Lower Italy, Ravenna, Milan, in Spain, Gaul and on the Rhine, are the isolated indications of a pioneering movement in the East. Just as we can trace our arched structures of the Middle Ages to Mesopotamia, so in Armenia we find the origin of the most important type of Western domed architecture since the Renaissance. It is from Armenia that the solution comes to the puzzle of that miracle of cathedrals, St. Sophia

in Constantinople, which until recently remained unexplained in its origins, because only isolated structures pointed in its direction, none of which could be proven to have been climaxed in such an edifice.

(In Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, I was able to prove these hypotheses on the origins of Nordic vault architecture of the Middle Ages, the Byzantine-Orthodox and Italian vault style, as well as the origins of the domed style.)

The creative personalities who made possible the development of so noble a structure as St. Sophia were Aryans: Iranians — who began its construction, Armenians who continued it, and Greeks — who completed it.

One must take into account that in architecture the Armenians were to the Old Christian Period what the great Italian Baroque architects were to their time and for all Europe: the creators of new and individual art experience. Just as one cannot comprehend the modern architecture of the North without knowing of its stimulus in Italy, until now it was difficult to explain the Christian domed-structure style because the knowledge of

its origin in Armenia and Iran was lacking.

We owe the spread of this style of architecture in part to the migrations of the intellectually active Armenians from their homeland. To be sure until recently, no one seriously considered that the Armenians — a people from a mountainous country — had transported their art to Rome, Egypt, Asia Minor and Constantinople, to the Balkans and Europe.

A not unimportant source of discovery for this entire matter of Armenian architecture is Leonardo da Vinci, who recorded impressions during travels in an unnamed country. A tremendous natural event took place during the course of his visit, possibly the earthquake of 1484, accompanied by floods and upheavals, which compelled the Master to take refuge with the natives in the ruins of a church. Leonardo repeats a conversation which perhaps reveals him to be one of the conveyors of Armenian architectural ideas to the West. At any rate, one understands Leonardo as an architect better if one takes a long sojourn in the East.

*("The Architecture of the Armenians and Europe," by J. Strzygowski, Vienna, 1918)*

## VI

# THE ROLE OF THE ARMENIANS IN EAST EUROPE AND ASIA

PROF. VAHAN TOTOMIANTZ

The Armenians are one of the few peoples of antiquity the traces of whose culture remain to our day. Xenophon the Greek historian was the first to mention Armenia, which derived its name from the Armenian King Aram, and was known abroad as such. Its old designation from the time of the Assyrian and Babylonian Em-

pire is *Nairi*, as well as *Urartu*. The name of Mt. Ararat is derived from *Urartu* on which according to the Bible Noah's Ark alighted.

The Armenians were the first people to accept Christianity. Jesus Christ dispatched his two apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew to Armenia, and with them he sent his

picture to the Armenian King Abkar, in the capital city of Edessa, later destroyed by earthquake.\*

Since the beginning of our era, the Armenians have delivered martyrs and saints, especially in western Cappadocia. Such a one was Bishop Efrem — in the 4th century — who preached Christianity in the Crimea and the Danube regions. This was widely known in Western Europe and, among others, gave the French classical poet Corneille occasion to write his tragedy "Polyeucte, martyr armenien" (1643).

In the 4th century (301 A.D.) Armenia became the first country to declare Christianity as the state religion. In the 5th century (434 A.D.) the Holy Scriptures were translated into Armenian.

It was the Armenians who waged the first religious war in defense of Christianity against the Persians in 451 A.D. And Christian sects, e.g. the Paulinists, spread out across Bulgaria into Europe in the 5th century.

The Armenians were also the first people to bring forth a distinctive style of church architecture. They built unusually strong bridges of stone. Their individual church architecture spread over the whole of Europe. In agricultural developments the Armenians also made advances, as for example the apricot, which bears the scientific name *prunus armeniae*.

It is not surprising that the Armenians through the acceptance of Christianity set themselves apart even more than before from the neighboring heathen and later Mohammedan peoples. This separation caused countless wars, especially with the Persians. But far worse for the Armenians was the circumstance that their country, which stretched out from the Black and Caspian Seas to the Mediterranean, lay in

the path of large migrations of peoples. The invasions of the Mongols, of Genghis Khan, who also conquered Russia, and of Tamerlaine, were heavy blows, and it is during these times that the migrations of the Armenians began.

The Armenian migration of the 6th century headed in the direction of Constantinople, capital of Byzantium, as a result of which Armenians played an important role in the life of that nation. Armenian architects built churches, houses, bridges and roads — all of which the Turks usually claim as their own. And the builder of the many beautiful mosques, Sinan, was an Armenian.

In the period between 583-1028, the Armenians gave Byzantium 25 emperors and 10 empresses, among them Basil I and John Zimisces. The Patriarch Photius, teacher of Cyril, was also Armenian. A Byzantine military leader, the Armenian Nerses (Narsus as he is inaccurately called) was Governor of Italy in the 5th century.

Notwithstanding the periodic extermination of Armenian peasants by the Turks and Kurds, the Armenians in Constantinople gave the Turks several ministers. In more than a few districts the Turks learned agriculture and some crafts, chiefly printing, from the Armenians.

It is not well known that the Armenians are among the earliest proponents of the Gutenberg printing art. In the Orient they were the first to establish printing presses, where books in not only Armenian but Turkish, Persian, French, Italian and other languages were published. The first books in Persian, Turkish, Syria and Georgian were printed in Armenian printing shops. The first German book was printed by Gutenberg in 1453. Sixty years later, in 1515 the first Armenian book was printed by an Armenian printing press.

The sympathies of the Russian-Armenians and Turkish-Armenians for Russia as

\* This article has appeared at least twice elsewhere in somewhat different form and under other titles. I have tried to include much that was previously omitted.

a Christian country aggravated relations with the Turks. The horrible extermination of the Armenians during World War I, in 1915 — when almost no Armenians were left in Turkish Armenia and where to this day the land remains a vast desert — is partly explained by the endeavors of the Armenians to go over to the side of Russia. This assumption of the Turks is, to a certain degree, correct because in the Russo-Persian and Russo-Turkish Wars, leading roles were played by Armenian generals: Prince Madatov, Prince Bebutov, I. Lazarev, Der Ghukassov, Prince Argutinsky-Dolgoruki and Loris Melikov — Chancellor to the liberal Czar Alexander II who tried to give Russia a constitution.

However, the Armenians in Russia were not only militarily but culturally active. Peter the Great and Catherine the Great welcomed Armenians from Turkey and Persia with the goal of introducing various agricultural crafts in Russia. This is how the breeding of the silkworm, mulberry tree and grape culture — in Astrakhan in the south of Russia mostly by Armenian emigrants, who are also responsible for the introduction of dyeing in that country.

The Armenians have also given Russia one of its most prominent painters, Ayvazovsky, not to mention many half-Armenians, half-Russians, as for instance the well-known novelist Nemirovitch-Dantchenko. Some Armenians have become world famous through their writings, such as Vittoria Aganoor in Italy, Henri Troyat (Torosian) in France, Michael Arlen (Kiumjian) in England, and William Saroyan in the United States. The great actress Eleanora Duse was also Armenian.

In the 13th century a wave of Armenian emigrants poured into Poland, Hungary and Romania. The center of the Armenian emigration at the time was the city of

Lwow, where to this day Armenians live, though they have become Catholics, forgotten their language and changed their names.

In Romania several cities, among them Galatz, were founded by Armenians who also built many churches. In the political, literary and scientific life of Romania, the Armenians played an important part. They gave to that country at least two ministers: Prof. Spiru Haret, who nationalized co-operatives, and Trancu-Jassy, the first Minister of Co-operatives in Romania.

In present day Greece, Armenian refugees from Turkey have introduced carpet making, goldsmithing and fig-preserving.

In Egypt the Armenians have given to that country its most prominent minister: the reformer Nubar Pasha.

In science the Armenians of many lands have made important contributions, from Professor of Chemistry Chamchian in Bologna, to Professor of Physiology Orbeli at Leningrad and Professor of Architecture Tamanov who re-settled in Soviet Armenia.

In Persia the Armenians have always been prominent. They have been advisors to Shahs, their Ministers and Treasurers. The export of wool, rice and dried fruits from Persia was organized by Armenians. They also established fishing and fish-conserves on the Persian and Russian coasts of the Caspian Sea, and in addition ran the oil industry.

We have by no means exhausted the achievements of Armenians who have participated in the cultural life of their own or foreign lands — and still do. In Venice and Vienna the Armenians have established the scholarly Order of Mekhitarist Catholic Monks who have made valuable contributions to research not only in Armenian but in world history, and who have published a large number of translations into Armenian of European classics.

Obviously it would be more in keeping

\* Also co-founder with Stanislavsky of the famed Moscow Art Theatre.



live, if all of these achievements could have been performed in the homeland of the Armenians. But what alternative is there if that homeland is desolated and hermetically sealed by the Turks, while Russian Ar-

menia is too small? \*

*(This series to be concluded next Issue)*

\* The writer seems to be overlooking the political factors involved in the dilemma.

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## BISHOP ZAREH PAYASLIAN, NEW CATHOLICOS OF THE CILICIAN CHURCH SEE

On February 20, 1956, Bishop Zareh Payaslian, Prelate of the Armenian Church of Aleppo, Syria, was elected Catholicos of the Cilician (Antilias-Sis) See of the Holy National Apostolic Church, in a convocation of lay and clerical electors, held in Beirut. Thus, the ancient Catholicosate, perhaps the most influential Armenian Church center abroad, received its first permanent incumbent since the passing of Catholicos Garegin Hovsepian, June 21, 1952.

The election, long delayed through Soviet governmental and local Armenian pro-Soviet and Communist obstructionism, was held amid tumultuous scenes aggravated by the sudden arrival of the Etchmiadzin Catholicos, Vazgen I. Baljian, whose assertion that he had journeyed to Lebanon to "unite" the "warring factions" was soon disproved by his obvious intent to have the election delayed until forces could be marshalled to oppose the election of the anti-Soviet young Bishop Zareh. After a courtesy postponement of one week, on February 20, as announced, in the absence of Catholicos Vazgen, the Electoral Consistory cast 32 of 36 votes for Bishop Zareh.

The election commanded attention in the world press. Catholicos Zareh's assumption of the Holy Throne of the Great House of Cilicia is regarded widely as a blow against the Soviet government, and its employment of the Armenian Church abroad as an instrument of Soviet propaganda.

# METAMORPHOSIS OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

RITA JERREHIAN

The First World War brought about an intrinsic change in the nature of the Armenian question. Prior to 1914 the Armenians had merely sought improvements and reforms within the framework of the Turkish Empire. The Turkish government, however, had successfully evaded fulfilling the promises it had made to the Great Powers on behalf of the Armenians. The latest Armenian reform scheme had been abandoned by Turkey with the outbreak of the Great War. The First World War, however, was to witness three separate movements which concerned the Armenians and which culminated in the creation of the modern Armenian problem confronting the Powers at the end of the war. The Armenian question was no longer one of obtaining reforms, but had become one of fixing the boundaries of the new Armenian state.

The decision of Turkey to enter the war on the side of Germany and the decision of the Armenians to assist the Entente Powers in the hope of liberation from the Turkish yoke had a marked influence on the future character of the Armenian question. Turkey had nothing to gain by joining in the European conflict. Primitive resources and equipment, geographic separation from Germany and Austria, and the uncertain attitude of the other Powers argued against any deliberate entrance by Turkey into the war. Strict neutrality would have been the wisest policy for Turkey to have followed.

If Turkey was to take an active part, however, in the general European conflagration, it would have been best from a military standpoint to fight on the side of the Entente Powers. The Central Powers could not easily defend or attack Turkey whereas the Entente as mistress of the seas would be capable of doing both. Turkey would not be able to withstand a collision with Russia. An alliance with the Entente camp of which Russia was a member could provide external security for Turkey.<sup>1</sup>

During the Balkan Wars Turkey had approached the individual Powers with proposals for closer association. Russia was the only Entente Power willing to make an alliance with Turkey, and Russian conditions were unacceptable to Turkey. It seemed that Germany was the only Power who desired to see Turkey strong.<sup>2</sup> The presence, then the influence, and finally the will of Germany became accepted in Turkey. Turkey had been supervised, controlled, and exploited by the other Western Powers. German support would aid Turkey in throwing off foreign controls and abrogating the capitulations which were considered as violating Turkish sovereignty. Military, financial, and agrarian reforms could be provided by Germany. After 1910,

1. Maurice Pernot, *La question turque*, Paris, 1923, p. 225.

2. Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, New Haven, 1930, p. 66.

German popularity had gradually come to replace that of the English and the French with the Porte.<sup>3</sup>

Having failed to secure an agreement for closer relations with the Entente Powers, Turkey therefore approached Germany and Austria. The Turkish offer was not rejected or accepted until mid-July of 1914, when Germany realized that war was imminent, and gave indications of regarding the original Turkish proposal in a more favorable light. Then, the Austro-Serbian tension led to an Austrian declaration of war on Serbia on July 28, 1914, and despite German warnings, the Russian government decided on general mobilization rather than mobilization against Austria alone. German entrance into the war now seemed inevitable. In the meantime, on the very eve of war, Germany secretly concluded a defensive alliance with Turkey "for the purpose of preserving peace," by which Turkey was obligated to participate in the Austro-Serbian war if Russia were to intervene, Germany agreeing to defend Turkish territories if menaced by Russia.<sup>4</sup>

Only five persons in Turkey were aware of the secret treaty which had been concluded with Germany. Djavid Bey, the Minister of Finance, who did not realize that the treaty he was permitted to read was more than a mere project, strongly disapproved of the provision which seemed to allow German influence over the Turkish army to be used for German ends. In addition, he pointed out, the "draft" did not provide for protection of Turkey from possible aggression by Powers other than Russia, for example, by Great Britain. Djemal Pasha, the Minister of Marine, who also learned of the treaty after it has been concluded, felt that it would avert a general war. Said Halim Pasha, the Grand Vizier, who was included in the Turkish triumvirate that signed the treaty, felt that Tur-

kish neutrality could still be maintained under its provisions. Talaat and Enver, the other two members of the Turkish triumvirate, were the only Turks to understand the true significance of the alliance. Talaat, the Minister of the Interior, felt that Turkey had little chance of survival whether or not Turkey participated in the war. A victory, however, might bring some gain for Turkey. Enver, the Minister of War, was more optimistic and ambitious. With the aid of Germany, Turkey would be able to realize the Turkish dreams of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turanism, and would be able to eliminate the threat of invasion by Russia, the traditional enemy of Turkey.<sup>5</sup>

In carrying out pledges of alliance made to Austria, Germany declared war on Russia on August 1, 1914 and on France on August 3, 1914. The invasion of Belgium by Germany brought England into the conflict. Despite the secret Turco-German treaty of alliance, it was not until November, 1914 that Turkey was dragged into the war. Turkey had remained neutral in order to complete military preparations and to produce in Turkey an atmosphere that would make Turkish participation in the war on the side of Germany both possible and popular. Turkish policy was thus characterized by the attempt to gain time until the outcome of the war was clear. Then, Turkey would side with the victors. Turkey felt sure that these would be the Germans.

A mobilization order was signed August 1, 1914, and despite protests of the Entente Powers, the German military mission was permitted to remain in Turkey. Turkey, however, continued to proclaim her neutrality. The Grand Vizier informed the En-

<sup>3</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup>. Emin, pp. 67-68.

<sup>5</sup>. Emin, pp. 68-69. Pan Islamism was a movement or policy of forced conversion or assimilation of non-Moslem races; Pan Turanianism aimed at the union of Turanian peoples into a Great Turkey stretching from the Bosphorus to Central Asia, and involved the defeat and dismemberment of the Russian Empire.

tente Powers that Turkey had decided on mobilization only as a protective measure in the event of Bulgarian aggression against Turkey. The German military officers were regarded as Turkish employees. They had offered to remain, and therefore had been retained.<sup>6</sup> Turkey even sought to reassure the Powers as to their fears concerning Turkish associations with Germany by proposing to fight on the side of the Entente. Negotiations were begun with the Russians and continued for several months.<sup>7</sup>

British requisition of two Turkish warships being built in Great Britain had aroused Turkish public opinion against England, since the Turkish people had personally subscribed toward the building of the ships. Then, on August 11, 1914 the German warships *Goeben* and *Breslau* reached the Straits and passed through. The alarmed Powers protested that Turkey had violated the principles of neutrality in allowing the ships to enter Turkish territorial waters. The Grand Vizier explained that the German ships had been purchased by Turkey to replace those ships seized by the British and again declared that Turkey intended to remain neutral.<sup>8</sup> It was obvious that the purchase of the warships was fiction; there was no evidence of any sale. Nevertheless, Great Britain continued to attempt to gain the unqualified neutrality of Turkey. In a telegram dated August 16, 1914 Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, promised Turkey that France, Russia, and Great Britain would guarantee Turkish independence and integrity if Turkey were to main-

tain strict neutrality during the war.<sup>9</sup> Further correspondence indicated concessions that the Powers were willing to make with regard to the capitulations. On September 9, 1914, however, the capitulations were unilaterally abolished by Turkey. Reports that German naval officers, men, guns and artillery had left for Turkey brought about new protests by the Powers. The Turkish Grand Vizier recognized the existence of German intrigues in Turkey and promised that upon arrival the German sailors and equipment would be sent back. Germany had, however, become more and more successful in establishing its influence in Turkey; and by October, German and Turkish propaganda was attempting to convince Moslems that the German Kaiser had embraced Islam.<sup>10</sup>

On October 29, 1914 Turkey abandoned all outward appearances of neutrality. The sudden bombardment of Odessa and other Russian Black Sea ports by Turkish warships, including the two German cruisers, resulted in a severance of diplomatic relations by England and her Allies. Russia declared war on Turkey on November 2, 1914. England and France followed suit on November 5, 1914, England simultaneously announcing British annexation of the island of Cyprus. On November 14, 1914, a Holy War was proclaimed against all making war on Turkey and her Allies. Then, on December 17, 1914 the Turks began an offensive against Kars; Turkey, having decided to enter the war on the side of Germany, had opened her campaign in the vulnerable region of the Caucasus.

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The Armenians had hoped that Turkey would remain neutral during the war. Both

<sup>6</sup>. Telegram from Mr. Beaumont to Sir Edward Grey, August 4, 1914, Correspondence respecting events leading to the rupture of relations with Turkey, *The Times Documentary History of the War*, 11 vols., London, 1919, IX, 92.

<sup>7</sup>. Emin, p. 71.

<sup>8</sup>. Telegram from de Giers to Sazonov, Second Orange Book — Negotiations preceding the war with Turkey, *The Times Documentary History of the War*, p. 259.

<sup>9</sup>. Telegram from Grey to Beaumont, Correspondence respecting events leading to the rupture of relations with Turkey, *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>10</sup>. Telegram from Sir L. Mallet to Grey, October 14, 1914, *Ibid.*, p. 161.

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Turkey and Russia realized the importance of gaining the support of their respective Armenian subjects in the event of a war, since the scene of fighting between the two Empires would be mainly in Armenia. Both nations therefore offered autonomy to the Armenian people in return for active Armenian assistance. In August, 1914 a Turkish mission, formed for the purpose of inaugurating a Pan Islamic and Pan Turanian movement among Eastern races against Russia and her Allies, presented the following proposal at the Congress of the Armenian National Organization \* sitting at Erzeroum:

If the Armenians, — the Turkish as well as the Russian Armenians — would give active co-operation to the Turkish armies, the Turkish government under a German guarantee would promise to create after the war an autonomous Armenia (made up of Russian Armenia and the three Turkish vilayets of Erzeroum, Van and Bitlis) under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire. <sup>11</sup>

The Turks attempted to convince the Armenians that refusal would put the Armenians in a precarious position on both sides of the Turko-Russian frontier with threats that the Georgians and Tartars had agreed to support Turkey. The Dashnaktzoutiun (the Congress of that organization) refused the Turkish offer, advising Turkey not to enter the war that would lead only to ruin for Turkey. In the event of Turkish participation in the war, the Armenians would do their duty individually as Ottoman subjects, but not as a nation. <sup>12</sup>

Russia also sought the cooperation of the Armenians. A proclamation was addressed to the Armenian population of the Caucasus by the Tsar Nicholas II, promising liberation for Armenia:

Armenians; After five centuries of a tyrannical yoke, during which so many of you have succumbed, and when so many others have also suffered the most terrible out-

rages, the hour of liberty has at last sounded for you.

Armenians! United to your brethren of the same blood under the sceptre of the Tsars, you will experience at last the blessings of Liberty and Justice. <sup>13</sup>

A Russian proposal of autonomy for the six Armenian vilayets was presented by Count Vorontzov-Dashkov before the Armenian National Council at Tiflis. Previous promises of autonomy in return for Russian-Armenian aid had been advanced in 1828 and in 1878 and had not been fulfilled. In this case, however, Russia was an ally of France and England. The Armenians of Russia, therefore, decided to help the Russian armies. <sup>14</sup> The propaganda of Turkey and Germany had won over the Tartars and the Georgians who were hostile to the Tsarist government, but the Armenians, who also hated Russian despotism, were familiar with the methods of Turkish warfare and feared the ulterior aspirations of the Turks. When Russia began mobilizing in 1914, 160,000 Armenian reservists and nearly 20,000 volunteers answered the call of Russia. <sup>15</sup> Both the Tartars, who were not subject to call, and the Georgians, who did not rise to answer the call, regarded the Armenians with increased hostility; and relations between the Armenians and the other two Transcaucasian peoples became extremely tense. Russia, paying no attention to the Transcaucasian situation, placed the majority of Armenian military forces on the German front, leaving only a few battalions of Armenian volunteers to participate in the fighting on the Caucasian front. <sup>16</sup> In December, 1914, the Transcaucasus was invaded by the Turkish armies; disregarding the advice of its Armenian subjects, Turkey had entered the World War.

<sup>13</sup> Diana Apcar, *On the Cross of European Imperialism Armenia Crucified*, Yokohama, 1918, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> G. Pasdermajian, p. 21.

<sup>15</sup> Bertha S. Papazian, *The Tragedy of Armenia*, Boston, 1918, p. 109.

<sup>16</sup> G. Pasdermajian, p. 24.

\* Armenian Revolutionary Federation, known as Dashnaktzoutioun.

<sup>11</sup> G. Pasdermajian, "Why Armenia Should be Free: Armenia's Role in the Present War," *The Armenian Herald*, 2:21 (December, 1918).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.



### Movement No. I: Massacres and Deportations

"There will be massacres again; and they will be worse than ever."<sup>17</sup>

This prediction had been made before the sudden outbreak of war in 1914 and World War I saw its fulfillment. At the Erzeroum Congress, an ignominious compact had been proposed by the Turks to the Armenians. Autonomy under a Turkish protectorate would be granted if the Turkish Armenians would support an Armenian insurrection in Russia. The territory offered to the Armenians included Kars, the province of Erivan, and parts of the provinces of Erzeroum, Van, and Bitlis. The Turkish Armenians refused the Turkish proposal. The Turks tried once again before the outbreak of Russo-Turkish hostilities to secure Armenian cooperation, this time approaching the Armenian representatives in the *vilayets* and proposing that the Turkish Armenians support the anticipated Tartar insurrection in the Transcaucasus, but they met with no greater success.<sup>18</sup> Enraged by the Armenian refusal to participate in any rebellion in Russian territory, the Turks decided that they could no longer rely on the loyalty of the Turkish Armenians. Once before, the Young Turks had participated in massacres of the Armenians, although it had been claimed that the Cilician massacres were the last act of the regime of Abdul Hamid II. The plans of the Young Turks for extermination of the Armenian population of Turkey had not been abandoned but merely postponed. World War I offered the Turks the opportunity to carry out their plans without fear of punishment. The Entente Powers, who were trying to keep Turkey neutral, would not risk anta-

gonizing the Turks by coming to the aid of the Armenians; and Turkey was secretly allied with a powerful Germany which had promised to give the Turks a free hand in dealing with the Armenians.

Arrests and executions of Armenian leaders began in September, 1914. Then towards the end of October, the Turks began to confiscate Armenian goods and money for the purposes of the war. By November, it appeared that massacres were imminent.<sup>19</sup> The Armenians realized that they would not be able to pay the excessive taxes demanded of them. Still, they did not revolt or even show resistance, and up to the end of 1914 the Armenian scene was comparatively calm. The time was not yet opportune for the massacres the Turks had planned. The Turks were launching a major offensive in the Transcaucasus in December, which, if successful, would have caused the early retirement of Russia from the war. The Russian victory in the Battle of Sarikamish, however, was a decisive setback to the first serious Turkish offensive, and was brought about largely through the efforts of the Russian Armenians.<sup>20</sup> The Turks were then pushed back in the direction of Turkish Armenia. Volunteer Russian Armenian legions crossed the frontier in Bayazid and advanced into the northeastern provinces, giving help to the Russian forces.<sup>21</sup> The Turks, angered by the defeat at Sarikamish, for which they held the Armenians responsible, and frightened by the possibility of civil war, decided that the time had come to depopulate Armenia by the traditional Turkish method of massacres.

Before the slaughter of the Armenian nation could take place, however, certain preliminary steps had to be taken that had not been necessary in previous periods of

<sup>17</sup> Apcar, p. 28. (Prediction to Mrs. Apcar was made by Mr. E. G. Fryer before war broke out in 1914).

<sup>18</sup> *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire 1915-1916, Blue Book* (1916), No. 21, pp. 80-81.

<sup>19</sup> *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire 1915-1916, Blue Book*, No. 23, p. 91.

<sup>20</sup> Apcar, p. 58.

<sup>21</sup> Emin, p. 216.

massacres. In earlier days the Armenians had been exempt from military service and had not been allowed to possess arms. Under the regime of the Young Turks, however, the Armenian men had been trained and had served as soldiers in the Turkish army, and the Armenians were no longer unarmed. The Armenians had the power and means to resist massacres by the Turks. In order to prevent the Armenian massacres from taking on the character of warfare, the Turks decided to take preparatory measures to render Armenia defenseless. The Turks planned to disarm the Armenians and to put the Armenian soldiers into labor columns to work on roads, to build bridges, and to dig trenches. The disarmed and unprotected Armenian population would then be exterminated and the Armenian question would at last be solved.

The persecutions of the Armenians characteristic of periods of warfare in Turkish history thus entered into a second and more positive phase. The Turks began to take measures to render the Armenian soldiery and civilian population powerless and defenseless. The Armenian soldiers in the Turkish army had been sent to the most dangerous battle fronts. Now they were stripped of their arms. The special labor battalions into which the Armenian soldiers had been redrafted were sent to work on roads and to build fortifications in regions where they might be easily massacred by Kurdish caravans. Many of the former Armenian soldiers were treated as pack horses. Stumbling under heavy burdens of army supplies which were loaded on their backs, the Armenian ex-soldiers proceeded laboriously through the deep snows into the Caucasian mountains, driven on relentlessly by the whips and bayonets of their Turkish taskmasters. Given only scraps of food to eat, many died of starvation. The poorly clad Armenian soldiers were forced to sleep on the ground in the open air when given the infrequent

opportunity to rest, and many died from exposure. Those who became sick on the way were left behind to die, the Turks stopping only long enough to strip them of their belongings, including their clothes. Even those few who arrived at the destination announced at the start of the trek were destined to find death waiting for them. "In many instances," comments Henry Morgenthau in his book, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, "Armenian soldiers were disposed of in even more summary fashion, for it became almost the general practice to shoot them in cold blood."<sup>22</sup> The American ambassador observes, however, that "dreadful as were these massacres of unarmed soldiers, they were mercy and justice themselves when compared with the treatment which was now visited upon those Armenians who were suspected of concealing arms."<sup>23</sup>

The disarming of the Armenians in the cities and towns was the second of the two preliminary steps taken by the Turks in preparing for the destruction of the Armenian nation. A decree went forth that the civilian population was to turn in all arms. Although the order applied to all citizens, it was apparent that it would not be enforced against the Moslems, nevertheless, many Armenians obeyed. The local authorities, who were to execute the decree, however, required that a certain number of arms be produced. When the quota was not filled, an inquisition for arms took place. "One night in the winter," testifies a foreign witness of these events, "the Government sent officers round the city to all Armenian houses . . . demanding that all weapons should be given up, or actually searching for them. This action was the death knell to many hearts."<sup>24</sup> Some Ar-

<sup>22</sup> New York, 1918, p. 302. Mr. Morgenthau was the American ambassador to Constantinople from 1913 to 1916.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304.

<sup>24</sup> *The Treatment of Armenians*, No. 129, p. 505.

menians had not delivered up their arms, intending to defend themselves and the honor of their women from the outrages which they knew the Turks had planned. These were imprisoned for conspiracy against the government. Many Armenians, however, failed to turn in arms merely because they had none. The Armenians who could not produce arms were subjected to fiendish torture and many Armenians actually bought arms from their Moslem neighbors in order to avoid the terrible punishment the Turks inflicted.<sup>25</sup> The disarming of the Armenian soldiery and civilian population, however, was only the second phase of the persecution of the Armenians, and merely represented the preparatory steps in the extermination of the race.

Early in 1915, the Turks began the third and final act of persecution of the Armenians. The temporary withdrawal of the Russian forces had left the Armenians of the northeastern provinces at the complete mercy of the Turkish army. The earliest to be exposed to invasion after the failure of the Turkish offensive against the Caucasus in the winter of 1915-16, the provinces of Van, Erzeroum, Diarbekir, and Bitlis were the first victims of Turkish fire and sword; instead of following up the retreating enemy, the Turkish army had attacked its own territory. During the months of February and March, 1915, twenty-four villages in the district of Van alone were completely destroyed; the Turks had burned the buildings to the ground and had slaughtered the inhabitants.<sup>26</sup> Then, early in April, the Turks attempted the massacre of the inhabitants of the city of Van.

Despite Turkish claims, there had been no rebellion by the Armenians of Turkey, who were not to blame for the actions of

their co-religionists, the Russian Armenians. The Armenian clergy and political leaders had advised the people to endure any injustices and outrages in silence, urging them not to retaliate, saying that it was better that a few villages should burn unavenged than that the entire nation be massacred. And the people had behaved with considerable restraint.<sup>27</sup> In April, 1915, however, a "revolution" took place in the city of Van which led to the first open breach between the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire and the Turks. For almost five weeks the small ill-equipped Armenian fighting force defended the city against the Turkish troops until the arrival of Armenian volunteers from Russia accompanying the Russian troops saved the inhabitants, who could not have held off the Turks indefinitely, from impending death.<sup>28</sup> The Turkish government viewed the resistance of the Armenians of Van as a "rebellion." The "Revolt of Van" however was not an Armenian revolt. The Armenians had merely acted in self defense when the Turks had attempted the massacre of the inhabitants of the city. It has since been shown that the entire responsibility for the outbreak lay with the local governor of Van, Djevdet Bey, who may or may not have been acting on instructions from Constantinople.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, the resistance on the part of the inhabitants of Van gave the Turks an excuse to order the deportation of the entire Armenian population of Turkey. There was little justification for the order. Despite Turkish contentions, the massacres and deportations of 1915 were not a consequence of strict military necessity or of the existing general conditions. The reentry of Russian forces into Turkey had been largely determined

<sup>25</sup> Morgenthau, pp. 304-05.

<sup>26</sup> G. Pasdermadjian, p. 22.

<sup>27</sup> Morgenthau, p. 296.

<sup>28</sup> Morgenthau, p. 299.

<sup>29</sup> Reliable evidence is collected in *The Treatment of the Armenians* in the section of the Vilayet of Van, pp. 32-77.

by the distress of the Armenians in Van, and deportations had begun in Cilicia before the "Revolt of Van" took place. The Turkish plan had already been formulated, the acute war situation and the resistance of the Armenians in Van merely precipitating its execution.

The Turkish government did everything in its power to prevent the outer world from learning about its scheme for exterminating the Armenians. There was a strict censorship at the frontiers. The lines of private communication between the capital of Constantinople and the provinces had been cut. Even the provinces themselves heard only rumors of events occurring in the other provinces. Nothing was to be left to chance. The murder of the entire Armenian nation had been attempted once before during the Hamidian era, but Sultan Abdul Hamid had not been able to accomplish his full purpose; Great Britain, France and Russia had stood in his way. The methods of the Turks had been rough and primitive. The Young Turks were more successful in carrying out the Armenian policy of the Bloody Sultan. The Entente Powers had warned Turkey that they would hold the Turkish government responsible for massacres or atrocities against the Armenians that were committed during the war. Turkey, however, was holding out successfully against a series of bungling attempts of the Allies to force the Straits in February and March of 1915; and a daring Dardenelles expedition begun on April 25, 1915 was destined to end in failure in June, the end of the year witnessing the final evacuation of the Gallipoli peninsula by the Allies. In addition, the Allies were fighting a losing battle on other fronts. In June, the methodical work of definitive extermination already begun in Cilicia was extended by decree to include the entire Armenian population of Turkey except for the residents of Constantinople. The tide of victory turned in favor of the Allies too late to save the Armenians. In almost a year

the deed was accomplished. Of the two million Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, only a third have survived. These included Armenians living in Constantinople, Armenians who had apostatized to Islam, and Armenians who had succeeded in flight from Turkey. The remaining two-thirds were massacred or were deported on foot to the remotest and most inhospitable regions in the Ottoman Empire that the Turks could select. At least half the deportees perished during the course of the journey from hunger, exposure, exhaustion, and the murderous attacks of guards and robbers. Immense suffering awaited those who reached the journey's end, for the dispersed exiles were marooned in unhealthy malarial marshes or sultry wastelands without food, shelter, or clothing, where they died lingering deaths. In the meantime, Germany, who could have checked the Young Turks in their plans, did nothing to prevent the destruction of the Armenian race although it joined in the official protests made by the Powers when news of the Armenian massacres and deportations gradually leaked out.

There were political and economic reasons for Germany's attitude. "We wish no one to be in the shadow, but we also demand a Place in the Sun," Germany had declared.<sup>30</sup> In *On the Cross of European Imperialism Armenia Crucified*, Diana Aparcar writes: "Germany was seeking for a German place under the sun, and Germany decided that the Armenians should evacuate their place under the sun to make room for Germans."<sup>31</sup> The Armenians managed the trade and commerce of the Turkish Empire. Germany wished to replace the Armenian control with German control. Exploitation of the agricultural and mineral wealth of the Armenian plateau

<sup>30</sup> Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages 1897-1898, I, 60 (Mary E. Townsend, *The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire 1884-1918*, New York, 1930, p. 182).

<sup>31</sup> P. 33

would be open to Germany if the Armenians were exterminated. The temperate climate of Armenia offered great possibilities for the colonization Germany sought as an outlet for the German population problem arising out of the recent industrial revolution in Germany. Germany planned to take over the Turkish Empire once the war was won. During the war, however, Turkey could be of use as an ally. Russian supply lines could be cut off due to Turkey's strategic location. Turkish troops could be employed on the Western fronts as well as on the Eastern front. Turkey could also be of use in getting rid of the Armenians. Germany may not have instigated the Armenian atrocities of 1915. On the other hand, Germany had given its assent and approval to the Turkish plan of massacres. The German Ambassador at Constantinople, Baron von Wangenheim, refused to cooperate with the American ambassador, Mr. Henry Morgenthau, in attempting to persuade the Turkish government to desist in its extermination of the Armenians, saying that Germany could not interfere in the internal affairs of the Turkish Empire, and explaining the deportations as an emergency military measure. Dr. Harry Stuermer, a German correspondent in Constantinople in 1915-16, commenting on German responsibility for the Armenian tragedy, wrote:

I had never felt fully convinced, by the protestations of the German Embassy, that they had done their utmost to put a check on the murderous attacks on harmless Armenians far from the theater of war, who from their whole surroundings and their social class could not be in a position to take an active part in politics, and on the cold-blooded neglect and starvation of women and children apparently deported for no other reason than to die. The attitude of the German Government towards the Armenian question has impressed me as a mixture of cowardice and lack of conscience on the one hand and the most shortsighted stupidity on the other.<sup>33</sup>

Germany's share in responsibility for the

Armenian atrocities of 1915 is all the more evident when it is noted that the idea of deportation which was now for the first time introduced into the Turkish proceedings against the Armenians, was not a Turkish conception, but was exclusively a German notion. Sultan Abdul Hamid had felt that the only way to get rid of the Armenian question was to get rid of the Armenians, but he had never thought of uprooting the Armenian people from their age-old homes and transporting them en masse to desolate wastelands hundreds of miles away. German naval experts had recommended deportation of the Greeks from their Asiatic coastal homes to selected islands in the Aegean in 1914 shortly before the outbreak of war. German writers had even proposed that the policy of deportation be applied to the Armenians. Pan-Germanists suggested that the Armenians be sent to Syria and Mesopotamia, hoping that the industrious Armenian farmers would be able to redevelop the once fertile south and southeast portions of the Empire through which the Bagdad railroad passed. The places evacuated by Armenians would be filled with Turks, thus eliminating Russian influence in Armenia.<sup>34</sup>

Turkish methods of torture had always been "crude, clumsy, and unscientific." The Turks, comments Ambassador Morgenthau, have "understood the uses of murder, but not of murder as a fine art."<sup>34</sup> Whereas the Bloody Sultan had attempted the murder of the Armenian nation by outright massacres, the cool, calculating Young Turks used, in addition, the subtler, more thorough, and more highly organized means of deportation which had been suggested

*the Armenian Question*, Boston, 1950, p. 53. Other influential Germans pleaded for merciful treatment of the Armenians, among whom was Paul Weitz, another German correspondent, and Neurath of the German Embassy. (Morgenthau, p. 372.)

<sup>33</sup>. Morgenthau, p. 368.

<sup>34</sup>. Morgenthau, p. 365.

<sup>33</sup>. Quoted by V. Missakian, *A Searchlight on*



by the Germans. The deportations were merely massacres in disguise, massacres that were scientifically and therefore more efficiently executed. The Young Turks had been strongly impressed by the German way of doing things and greatly influenced by German ideas. As a result the Armenians suffered an unparalleled tragedy. "The plight of the deported Armenians will always be considered one of the saddest in history."<sup>85</sup> No longer could the conscience of civilized nations permit the continuation of Turkish rule over the Armenians. Armenia should be free.

### Movement No. 2: Armenian Military Services And Allied Promises

Of all the smaller nations of Europe and the Near East, only three, from the very beginning of the war, willingly did everything in their power to help the Allies and despite extremely great sacrifices made early in the war, continued in their efforts until final victory was won. These three heroic nations were Serbia, Belgium, and the Armenian people. Although each stood violently on the side of the Allies throughout the war, playing an important role in the four-year struggle, of the three, the Armenians proportionately suffered the heaviest losses for the Allied cause, sacrificing over a million lives out of a population of four and a half million.<sup>86</sup>

Armenians fought on all fronts in French, British, Russian, and Armenian armies. Nine-tenths of the volunteers who offered their services to the Foreign Legion in France gave their lives on the battlefield. Armenians from Egypt, from America and elsewhere made up the contingents of the Oriental Legion, fighting side by side with the French in Syria and contributing their share in General Allenby's victory in Pales-

tine in September, 1918.<sup>87</sup> Armenians in Russia had rallied immediately to the Russian call for mobilization, despite suspicions of Russian aims of imperialism. The Russians who feared the Armenian "danger" dispersed the generals. The Russian brigade under the command of General Nazarbekoff, the only Armenian general who was allowed to remain on the Caucasian front, was transferred to Persia, away from the Armenian border. The Armenians in Turkey had refused to form irregular bands to cooperate with Turkish plans to gain the support of the Transcaucasian populations in military operations against Russia, saying that in the event of war, Armenians would do their duty by their respective governments. The deportations and massacres of 1915 were the price the Armenians paid within Turkey for refusing. The Turks were not the only ones to seek the aid of the Armenians; the Russians had also attempted to win the Armenians to their side. Despite the hostile attitude of Russian Tsardom towards the Armenians which underlay Russian promises, the Russian Armenians organized volunteer forces and, led by Andranik, rendered invaluable military assistance to Russian forces on the Caucasian front, doing much of the heaviest fighting, preventing the Turkish advance toward the Asiatic interior. Three major Turkish offensives in 1915 were checked largely because of the role played by the battalions of Russian Armenian volunteers.<sup>88</sup> Turkish Armenian resistance to massacres and deportations diverted Turkish troops from other fronts.

It was clear that Russia as well as Turkey and Germany wanted to see Armenia without any Armenians. Unaccountable

<sup>87</sup> Boghos Nubar and Avetis Aharonian, "The Armenian Question before the Peace Conference," *The Armenian Herald*, 2:130 (Feb., March, April, 1919). In a letter to Lord James Bryce, dated October 3, 1918, Under Secretary of State Robert Cecil praises the services of the Armenians.

<sup>88</sup> G. Pasdermadjian, p. 25.

<sup>85</sup> Emin, p. 219.

<sup>86</sup> G. Pasdermadjian, "Why Armenia Should be Free," p. 20.

Russian retreats from captured portions of Turkish Armenia were not accompanied by any precautionary measures to protect the inhabitants from the atrocities that were certain to follow Russian withdrawal. The Armenians were forced to make marches unprotected from attacks by armed Turks or to remain in the war-torn provinces at the mercies of the Turkish troops who lost no time in invading their own territory. The Russian generals would not allow the inhabitants to move with the army. In one case in the winter of 1914-1915, where permission was granted to the Armenian volunteers to organize the immigration of the inhabitants to Russia and to defend them from Turkish attacks, the Armenians suffered a loss of only a few hundred lives, mostly as a result of the severe cold.<sup>39</sup> Had it not been for the deceitful behavior of General Nikolaev, the people of Van, who numbered almost 150,000, could have been moved at the time of the Russian retreat of July, 1915 without any loss of life. Although the Russian general had received orders for the immediate withdrawal of Russian forces, he tried to delay emigration, the organization of which required several days, by daily promises to the Armenian leaders that he would not retreat. When General Nikolaev finally disclosed the orders to evacuate the area of Russian troops to the mayor of Van, insufficient time remained for the people to make adequate preparations for departure. The Armenians suffered a loss of 8,000 to 10,000 persons during this retreat, losses which would have been many times greater had the Armenian volunteers not accompanied the people of the journey protecting them from the Turkish and Kurdish raids.<sup>40</sup> The retreats had caused Turkish Armenia to be almost depopulated of Armenians.

The Turks had taken revenge on those who had been unable to leave, and the Russians imposed obstacles to the return of the Armenian refugees to their former homes when the northeastern Armenian *vilayets* were recaptured by Russia in 1916. Triumphant Russian armies seized Erzeroum, Bitlis, Van and Trebizond and by late spring of 1916, Russian Cossacks, persuaded by the Russian government to become colonists, began to settle the Turkish Armenian lands. The Armenians had been betrayed. Still they persisted in devoting their efforts to helping the Allies.

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The winter of 1916-17 marked the end of the first phase of the war and the beginning of the second and final phase. A wholesale change in leadership had taken place. But of far greater importance were signs of collapse on the part of one great combatant, Russia, and of the entry of another, The United States. The morale of the Russian army and the people in general had been undermined by rumors of treason in the government. The crash of the March Revolution in 1917 raised the hopes of the Armenians, but the demoralization of the Russian troops continued and the Armenians began to fear that the Russian army would desert the Caucasian front. In May, 1917 the Armenian National Organization of the Caucasus sent a delegation to Petrograd to ask that the Armenian officers and men scattered in the Russian armies be transferred to the Armenian front to defend Russian Armenia against a Turkish advance. Alexander Kerensky, who was then the minister of war, agreed to send the Armenian soldiers to the Caucasus. However, the transfer would be made unofficially and would take place gradually so that the other nationalities would not take notice and make similar requests. The plan was put into effect but by November, 1917, when Kerensky, who had become the head of the provisional government in

<sup>39</sup> G. Pasdermadjian, "Why Armenia Should be Free," (January, 1919), p. 88.

<sup>40</sup> G. Pasdermadjian, (January, 1919), p. 89.

July, was toppled from power by the Bolsheviks, only 35,000 Armenian soldiers had been transferred. On December 5 an armistice was declared, but negotiations soon broke down between Russia and the Central Powers. During the months of December and January the Russian army, acting on its own initiative, abandoned the entire Caucasian front. The insurrection of the Tartars of the Caucasus followed. Then in February the Turkish army began its advance and Germany resumed its offensive. In March, the Bolshevik government was forced to evacuate the Ukraine, the Baltic countries, and to give up to Turkey the districts of Batoum, Kars, and Ardahan. Soviet Russia had withdrawn from the war. The Caucasian front was not left unprotected, however. The Armenians with the cooperation of the Georgians had been resisting the Turkish assault, and courageously repudiated the Treaty which ceded portions of their territory to Turkey.<sup>41</sup> The assistance of the Georgians was only temporary, breaking down once the Turks captured Batoum in April. The Georgians immediately sought German protection for Georgia, the Armenians continuing the struggle alone.

From February to June, 1918, the advance of the Turks was delayed by Armenian resistance in the area of Alexandropol and Erivan, the Armenians rendering an invaluable service to the Mesopotamian wing of the British army by preventing the Turkish troops on the Caucasian front from reinforcing those fighting against the British.<sup>42</sup> The Turkish attempts to seize Baku and its oil wells and Persian Afghanistan in the early years of the war had not succeeded, partly because of the contribution of the Armenian contingents to the

Russian army. A small Armenian garrison held firm against a later offensive, opposing the advance of the Turks while waiting for British assistance. After several months of heroic defense, the Armenians were joined by only a small British force in August, 1918, and in September were forced to abandon Baku to the Turks. Baku was later reoccupied by the British after the collapse of Turkey and the Armistice at Mudros of October 30, 1918. German surrender followed that of Turkey, Armenian assistance to the Allies on various fronts continuing until the very end of World War I.

In August, 1914, when Turkey had sought the aid of the Armenians in instigating an insurrection in the Transcaucasus, the Armenians had advised the Turks not to enter the war. The Entente Powers had also tried to obtain Turkish neutrality, promising to give Turkey a written collection guarantee that the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire would be respected during the war, and would not be adversely affected by the Peace Treaty at the end of the war. Turkey's decision to join the Central Powers in the World War released the Entente Powers from their pledge and gave them an opportunity to agree on plans for dismembering the Ottoman Empire in the event of their victory. The Entente Powers also wished to win the Armenians to their cause. Russia had early proclaimed the liberation of the Armenians upon the invasion of northern Persia and Turkey. Later, the British and French declared their intention to liberate the Armenian people, attempting to enlist Armenian support in the war by promises which were made in vague terms but which seemed to favor Armenian national aspirations. In the meantime, unknown to the Armenians, secret treaties were being negotiated concerning the partition of Turkey and affecting Armenian territory. Had these secret agreements stood, no Armenian question could

<sup>41</sup> Kars and Ardahan were portions of Russian Armenia; Batoum was part of Georgia.

<sup>42</sup> On June 8, Georgia and Armenia who had declared their independence on May 26 and 28 respectively concluded a separate peace with Germany and Turkey.

have been raised at the Peace Conference.

There were four main undertakings regarding Turkish territory in Asia Minor during World War I: the Constantinople Agreement of March 12, 1915 in which Great Britain and France promised Constantinople and the Straits to Russia; the secret treaty of London of April 26, 1915 by which Italy was to enter the war on the side of the Entente in return for Italian territorial demands, the Italians to obtain the province of Adalia and the adjoining Mediterranean region in southwestern Anatolia in the event of the partitioning of Turkey;<sup>43</sup> the Anglo-Franco-Russian accord of 1916 determining the future of certain portions of the Ottoman Empire; and the St. Jean de Maurienne Agreement of April 17, 1917 by which the Italians received further concessions in Asia Minor. The Sazonov-Paleologue agreement of April 26, 1916 between Great Britain and France and the Sykes-Picot agreement of May 16, 1916 between Great Britain and France which together made up the Anglo-Franco-Russian accord of 1916 were the secret treaties which most directly affected the Armenian question.

These agreements had been maturing ever since March 4, 1915 when the Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Sazonov had presented to the British and French representatives the Russian claims to Constantinople and the adjoining territory in the event of success of the Dardanelles campaign, which the Russians hoped would

divert Turkey's attention from the Caucasus. French and British claims were to be defined later. The Gallipoli expedition, however, did not succeed, the straits remained closed, and Russia was cut off from supplies the Allies could have given her.

In an attempt to divert the Turks and to establish contact with the British the Russians advanced into western Persia in the fall of 1915, one detachment succeeding by May, 1916 in joining the British in Mesopotamia. Then in January, 1916 a Russian offensive began in Armenia and by April the Armenian provinces of Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis, and Trebizond had fallen to the Russians. By the Sazonov-Paleologue agreement of April 26, 1916, France agreed that Russia should have 60,000 square miles of northeastern Turkey including the four Turkish Armenian provinces, part of Kurdistan, and northern Anatolia westward from Trebizond, the amount of Russian acquisition on the Black Sea to be fixed at a later time. The French were to have the region southwest from this, including the Syrian coastal strip, the province of Adana, Cilicia, and southern Kurdistan with Kharpout.<sup>44</sup>

Thus Armenia was included in the two conterminous zones carved out of Eastern Anatolia, western Armenia being allotted to France and eastern Armenia assigned to Russia. The Sykes-Picot Agreement of May 16, 1916 incorporated the provisions of the Sazonov-Paleologue agreement, and made the French and British claims with regard to the future partition of Asiatic Turkey more specific. Had these agreements gone into effect, an Armenian national state would never have come into existence. The Armenians, however, were unaware that they were only pawns on a chessboard and encouraged by Allied propaganda exploiting the Armenian atrocities

<sup>43</sup>. Although a member of the Triple Alliance, Italy had declared her neutrality August 3, 1914, having refused in July to join the Central Powers in the war on the grounds that the terms of the Triple Alliance did not require active support by Italy, as the Austrian action against Serbia had been an offensive action. However, in return for her benevolent neutralism Italy advanced territorial claims to offset Austrian gains in the Balkans. Dissatisfied with the meagre concession offered by the Austrians, Italy entered into negotiations with the Entente, and as the result of the secret treaty of London, formally denounced the Triple Alliance on May 3, 1915 and entered the war on May 23, 1915.

<sup>44</sup>. Parker Thomas Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics*, New York, 1939, p. 160.



and Allied statements apparently favoring Armenian aspirations for liberation, enlisted to serve on the Allied side.

During the Russian military occupation of 1916-17 in the four Turkish Armenian *vilayets* the Armenians learned that they could no longer hope for Tsarist Russian support of an Armenian state. The Russians had assigned these lands vacant due to massacres and deportations to Cossack colonies, declaring the Armenians ineligible. Tsarist Russia, however, was doomed to fall. But the spring of 1917 which saw her collapse also saw the entry of another great combatant, the United States, who declared war on Germany, April 6, 1917. Although the United States was not officially at war with Turkey, the Armenians felt sure that the Americans who had entered the war to make a "world safe for democracy" and who advocated a "peace without victory" would secure for the Armenians at the Peace Conference the attainment of Armenian aspirations. Thus, when the Bolshevik government published early in December, 1917, the four secret treaties signed during the war by the Allies, the Armenians continued to aid the Allies in the struggle against the Central Powers and Turkey despite the disclosures that had been made.

The Armenian question was no longer a matter of Turkish reforms, or autonomy under Ottoman suzerainty, but of complete autonomy. Even Soviet Russia recognized this evolution of the Armenian question. On December 3, 1917, denouncing the agreements of 1915-17, the Council of Soviet Commissars proclaimed:

We declare that the treaty for the partition of Turkey, which was to despoil it of Armenians, is null and void. Immediately after the cessation of military operations, the Armenians will be guaranteed the right freely to determine their political destiny.<sup>45</sup>

Joseph V. Stalin, then the commissar for

national minorities of the new government, wrote that the great October socialist revolution had brought liberation to all oppressed peoples in Russia, and had brought liberation especially to the Armenian people,<sup>46</sup> attributing the development of the concept of the free self-determination of Turkish Armenia as a result of the workers' revolution begun in Russia in October. An official decree of January 13, 1918 had announced to the Armenian people "that the government of the working men and peasants of Russia upholds the right of the Armenians, of Turkish Armenia, occupied by Russia, freely to define their own status, including the right to declare themselves independent."<sup>47</sup> The Armenians did not attach much value to the farcical Russian edict since that part of Armenia had been completely cleared of Armenians.

France, the other power at whose disposal the secret treaties had placed Armenia, also had expressed approval of autonomy for the Armenians. M. Stephen Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs for France, speaking in the French Chamber of Deputies, stated:

An adherence to the policy of the rights of nationalities has been the honor of our traditions and of our history. It applies, as we view it, to the Armenians, Syrian and Lebanese populations, as it does to all peoples who suffer, against their will, the yoke of the oppressor, be he who he may. Such peoples have a right to our sympathy, to our help. All of them should be given an opportunity of deciding their own fate.<sup>48</sup>

In December, 1916 President Wilson of the United States had suggested that the belligerents state their terms for peace. The reply of the German, Austrian, and Turkish governments on December 26 mentioned no specific terms. Definite terms

<sup>45</sup> Works IV, 25-26, (quoted in "The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic: the Establishment of Soviet Power in Armenia," *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (in Russian), 2nd ed., III, 65.)

<sup>47</sup> Pierre Crabitès, "The Evolution of the Armenian Question," preface of Kevork Aslan, *Armenia and the Armenians from the Earliest Times until the Great War, 1914*, New York, 1920, preface by the translator, p. xix.

<sup>48</sup> Crabitès, p. xix. (preface of Aslan).

<sup>46</sup> Appeal of the Council of People's Commissars to the Moslems of Russia and the East, Dec. 3, 1917, *Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy 1917-1924*, New York, 1951, p. 17.



were specified by the Allied Powers in their reply of January 10, 1917, which described as one of their war aims the freeing of the subject nationalities under Turkish rule and the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. On December 21, 1917 Mr. Lloyd George, the British Premier, declared in the House of Commons that Armenia could not be put back under Turkish domination. Throughout 1917 various pledges were made by the French, Italians, and British concerning the Armenians. Two weeks later on January 5, 1918, the British Premier addressing the Trades Union Conference gave the most comprehensive and authoritative statement of Entente war aims made by any European statesman before the Armistice, in which he repeated his pledge to the Armenians:

While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople — the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalized and neutralized — Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine are in our judgement entitled to a recognition of their separate national condition.<sup>49</sup>

The secret agreements were not to prevent a free discussion as to the future of the subject lands of Turkey since the Russian collapse had changed all the conditions. On January 8, 1918 President Wilson of the United States, in an address to Congress, presented a program for peace consisting of Fourteen Points. Point Twelve stated:

The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured undoubted security of life and absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development.<sup>50</sup>

The American President felt that peace could be obtained only by the removal of

the causes of the war. "This war had its roots in the disregard of the rights of small nations and of nationalities which lacked the union and the force to make good their claim to determine their own allegiance and their own forms of political life," stated President Wilson on February 11, 1918. "Covenants must now be entered into which will render such things impossible for the future."<sup>51</sup>

In a letter to the Armenian National Delegation at Paris, Premier Georges Clemenceau of France wrote: "The Government of the Republic has not ceased to place the Armenian nation among the peoples whose fate the Allies intend to settle according to the supreme laws of humanity and justice."<sup>52</sup>

November 18, 1918 Lord Robert Cecil, Under-Secretary of State, declared in the House of Lords that not even "a shadow or an atom of Turkish rule should be allowed in Armenia."<sup>53</sup>

On November 20, 1918 the Italian Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution in favor of Armenian independence. Throughout the war, the Allies had expressed sympathy for the plight of the Armenians, admiration for the military services rendered by the Armenians, and responsibility for the future of the Armenians.

Thus the Armenians, who had mobilized to help the Allied cause, were led to believe that an independent Armenian state would be set up after the war.

### Movement No. 3: The Creation Of An Independent Armenia

Political events during World War I and the period immediately following it were accompanied by events in the diplomatic sphere as well as in the military and usher-

<sup>49</sup> London Times, Jan. 7, 1918, (quoted by W. Henry Cooke and Edith P. Stickney, *Readings in European International Relations since 1879*, New York, 1931, pp. 543-44.)

<sup>50</sup> Quoted by Missakian, p. 80.

<sup>51</sup> Quoted by Apcar, p. 102.

<sup>52</sup> American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, *The Senate Should Reject the Turkish Treaty*, New York, 1923, p. 28.

<sup>53</sup> Quoted by Missakian, p. 79.

ed in a new era for the Armenian people. Revolutionary upheavals in Russia and in the Caucasus in 1917 and 1918 led to proposed plans by the Allies for the erection of a buffer zone to be erected against Soviet Russia and Persia, and had for a result the actual emergence of an Armenian Republic on May 28, 1918, situated in the Ararat plain with Erivan as its capital. However physically diminutive and exhausted the new independent Armenian state which had been reborn out of the chaos of the war may have been, hope, supported by Allied promises, remained for the Armenians that the historic regions of Armenia would be added to the small republic and that reconstruction of the new Armenia and restoration of the glory of ancient Armenia under a democratic regime would enable Armenia to take the place of an independent and sovereign state in the family of nations that she so greatly desired and deserved.

Russia's defection brought about a period of tension both for the Allies and for the Transcaucasian people, especially the Armenians. The Powers and Transcaucasus refused to recognize the Bolshevik "government." A temporary armistice had been proposed by the new Russian leaders in November, 1917. The Western Allies ignored the Russian suggestion; the Germans, however, were willing to enter into negotiations. The Bolshevik publication of the secret treaties for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire followed the refusal of the Allies to recognize the new government in Russia. Russia could not continue the struggle alone. At the same time that she revealed the plans of the capitalist governments, Russia concluded an armistice with the Central Powers on December 5, 1917. The Russian-Turkish armistice took place at Erzincan on December 18, 1917. Orders were given to evacuate the provinces of Turkish Armenia; the Transcau-

casian front was also abandoned.<sup>54</sup> Russia objected to German demands during negotiations at Brest-Litovsk which began in early December and broke down by the end of the month. Germany then concluded a separate peace with the Ukraine whose independence from Russia was announced towards the end of January. The war was declared to be at an end by the Bolsheviks but the Germans began a new offensive and on March 3, 1918 the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed. March 15, 1918 the treaty was ratified. In the meantime, Civil War had overtaken Russia, and the various borderlands of Russia had broken away. Only the Transcaucasian front, deserted by Russian forces but defended by Armenians and Georgians, had remained intact.

Self-determination of nationalities had been announced as one of the guiding principles of the new Bolsheviks. The non-Russian nationalities, however, had no faith in the proclamations of the Bolsheviks and developed national movements. Immediately after the Bolshevik coup, the Georgians and Armenians created National Supreme Councils to deal with national problems. The armies of the Georgians and Armenians which had been a part of the Russian army were organized when the purely Russian armies began to desert the front and to make raids on the local population.<sup>55</sup> The three Caucasian peoples — Georgians, Tartar, and Armenian — set up a temporary government of the Caucasus in Tiflis, choosing as their President, Chekhenkeli. The Caucasian government refused to recognize the Bolshevik government's authority in the Caucasus and repudiated the terms of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty which

<sup>54</sup>. Missakian, p. 64.

<sup>55</sup>. D. Ghambashidze, "Georgia and Armenia as Allies," *The Armenian Herald*, 1:419-20 (July, 1918).

the Bolshevik government had signed.<sup>56</sup>

The Transcaucasian League had continued the struggle against the Turks after the crash of the revolution, the Armenians and Georgians having made an alliance and the Tartars having promised not to rebel. Although Germany had managed to bring the Ukraine under German influence and to some extent had also succeeded in regard to the Cossacks, Transcaucasia was more difficult to reach with German propaganda. Germany attempted to win the support of the Tartars with proclamations urging cooperation with the Turks; North Persia became pro-German to a great degree. The Turkish offensive had begun once more and towards the end of February, the Armenians were forced to retreat from Erzincan. At the ensuing Peace Conference at Trebizond, the Transcaucasian delegation rejected the Turkish demands for Kars, Batoum, and Ardahan which the Bolsheviks had just ceded to Turkey by the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, and military operations were resumed. All of Turkish Armenia was recaptured. The Turkish armies then advanced into the Transcaucasian Republic formed on April 9.<sup>57</sup> On April 15 Batoum fell. It was not until April 22 that the Turks reached Kars where serious resistance by the Armenians repelled Turkish attacks on the fortress. Kars however, was surrendered on April 26 on orders of the Georgian President of the Caucasian Government,<sup>58</sup> who had been persuaded by the Turks that as a consequence of such action, Batoum would be returned

to Georgia, and the Armenians retreated to Alexandropol.

Relations among the three Caucasian races became more strained and mutual distrust and non-cooperation weakened their struggle against the common enemy. By May 1, three separate republics were proclaimed, making up the Transcaucasian League. A second Peace Conference was held, opening on May 11, 1918, at Batoum. During the course of the negotiations, the Turks attacked Alexandropol and Erivan. Battles at Karakilisse, Bash Abaran, and Sardarapat, however, saved Erivan from capture by the Turks and the Armenians turned to the task of recapturing Alexandropol.<sup>59</sup> Transcaucasian unity might still have been preserved. In the meanwhile, however, on May 28, 1918 a Turkish ultimatum had been presented to the Georgian, Armenian, and Tartar delegations, demanding the dissolution of the Transcaucasian League in addition to the territorial concessions outlined in the initial Turkish demands. Assured of German protection against possible future incursions of the Turks, Georgia declared her independence, announced the dissolution of the Transcaucasian League, and proclaimed Georgia an independent Republic. The Tartars, having reluctantly participated in the Transcaucasian League, followed the example of Georgia, and formed the Republic of Azerbaijan on May 27. The Armenians who declared their independence on May 28 were left to carry on the struggle alone.

The Turks and Germans had considered the Caucasus as a Georgian and Tartar area, but in view of the Armenian victories in early June, the Turkish delegates agreed to recognize also the right of the Armenians to separate independence. The first terms of the armistice were signed on June

<sup>56</sup> G. Pasdermajian, (Feb., March, April, 1919), p. 190.

<sup>57</sup> Garabed Papazian, "The Situation in the Caucasus," *The Armenian Herald*, 1:526 (September, 1918).

<sup>58</sup> Garabed Papazian, *op. cit.* Chekhenkeli was acting on his own responsibility and not as the head of the government, but this was unknown to the defenders of the fortress.

<sup>59</sup> Missakian, p. 66.

4, and final negotiations for peace took place in Constantinople.

On June 19 peace treaties were signed between the three new republics and Turkey in the presence of delegates of the Central Powers. After the Turkish claims to Armenian areas had been satisfied, Georgia and Azerbaijan received much of the remaining Armenian territory, leaving only some 12,350 square miles containing the districts of Erivan and Etchmiadzin with 700,000 Armenian inhabitants or one-third of the Armenians of the Caucasus to the Republic of Armenia.<sup>60</sup>

The British and the French, afraid of the increasing German influence in the borderlands, had been encouraging and supporting movements among the opponents of the Bolsheviks, and several independent governments had been formed all along the Russian frontiers in the early months of 1918. The Allies recognized the particular importance of erecting a buffer zone along the Transcaucasian front. An armistice had been concluded December 15, 1917 between Germany and the new Bolshevik regime.

On December 22, 1917, the war situation was discussed by the Allies in its relation to their war aims and peace terms. Middle Europe must be made free of German influence. Once the Prussian Middle Europe was disestablished the Powers "must secure a guaranteed autonomy for the Armenians, not only as a matter of justice and humanity, but in order to re-establish the one people of Asia Minor capable of preventing economic monopolization of Turkey by the Germans."<sup>61</sup>

On March 20, 1918, an Inquiry Report

included among the tentative issues to be discussed at the Peace Conference the following problems concerning the Armenians: the delimitation of the Armenian area after a study of districts contested with Kurds and other races had been made; political problems in the event that Armenia should remain under the suzerainty of Turkey; economic problems of an independent Armenia.<sup>62</sup>

The Armenians of the Caucasus had fought valiantly until the time when, in June, 1918, peace was made with Turkey. Outside of the Caucasus, Armenians continued to fight on the side of the Allies asking that the Allied nations disregard the Armeno-Turkish Pact as they had the Brest-Litovsk treaty. The Powers excused the apparent capitulation of the Armenians at Constantinople. Lord Robert stated:

Great Britain and her Allies understand the cruel necessity which forced them to take that step, and look forward to the time, perhaps not far distant, when the allied victories may reverse thus undesired misfortunes.<sup>63</sup>

And at Baku the Russian Armenian contingents were holding the city while awaiting the arrival of British reinforcements. Baku finally fell to the Turks, but the distraction of Turkish troops to this area enabled General Allenby to impose a crushing defeat on the Turkish armies in Mesopotamia and the Turks were compelled to accept the Allied terms of armistice.<sup>64</sup>

Overjoyed upon learning of the Turkish surrender, the Armenians were, on the other hand, disappointed when they learned of the armistice terms. Several clauses referred to the Armenian situation. The fourth term provided for the unconditional transfer of all Allied prisoners of war and Armenian interned persons and prisoners to the

<sup>60</sup> G. Pasdermadjian, (February, March, April, 1919), p. 191.

<sup>61</sup> *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Paris Peace Conference, 1919, I.* 43.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 69.

<sup>63</sup> Quoted by B. Papazian, p. 126.

<sup>64</sup> Armistice Convention with Turkey in H. W. V. Temperley, *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, 6 vols., London, 1920, IV.

Allies. The eleventh term stated: "A part of Transcaucasia has already been ordered to be evacuated by Turkish troops. The remainder to be evacuated if required by the Allies after they have studied the situation." The sixteenth term involved withdrawal of Turkish troops from Cilicia, except those to maintain order. The twenty-fourth term provided that in the event of disturbances in the six Armenian *vilayets*, the Allies had the right to occupy any portion of them. To the Armenians the terms seemed too lenient. The Allies had permitted the Turks to remain in Turkish and Russian Armenia. The reservation of clause twenty-four was not a sufficient safeguard to protect the Armenian population in the six provinces and Cilicia.

The Armenian National Union further protested: "The presence of Turkish troops in any part of Armenia is at once a menace and obstacle to the return of Armenian refugees to their homes."

Since the Powers had refused to recognize the treaty of Brest-Litovsk regarding Russian Armenia there could be no reason for allowing Turkish troops to remain in those areas ceded by the treaty to Turkey.<sup>65</sup>

The British government began to depart from the view that Turkey must be kept alive as a sick man and in November declared conjointly with the French government that their aim was "the complete and final liberation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks and the establishment of governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and the free choice of the native population."<sup>66</sup>

The Armenians, though disappointed by the armistice terms which seemed to suggest, still placed their trust in the Powers, to help the Armenian people to realize their national ideal, making a supreme appeal to civilization:

The Armenian question is not solely a local and national one; it concerns the peace of Europe, and upon its solution depend the pacification, the progress and the prosperity of the Near East.<sup>67</sup>

The Armenians had proven their right to independence. Wilson had stated that the war was fought to make the world safe for democracy:

Right is more precious than peace and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.<sup>68</sup>

The Powers had agreed to resurrect Armenia. The modern problem confronting the Powers was of great magnitude. Politically, good government must be secured to protect the life, property and honor of the Armenians, which would involve the end of Turkish rule and the establishment of a non-Turkish government. Socially, the repatriation of the Armenian population must be made under conditions that would enable them to realize their ideals and aspirations as individuals and as a nation. Economically, reconstruction and development of industrial capacities and economic possibilities would involve expert advice, financial aid, and efforts on the part of both government and private enterprise. An autonomous Armenia was to be established under conditions that would enable her to contribute the glories of her past and the promises of her future to the world. The proposed Armenia was to occupy one of the most difficult strategic positions of any world area. Great Power support would be essential. The Armenians were assured that it would be given. Turkey and Russia — these had been the arch enemies of Armenia. Russia was in the process of dissolu-

<sup>65</sup> "Turkey Accepts Allies' Armistice," *The Armenian Herald*, 1:671 (November, 1918).

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> Armenian Bill of Rights. Quoted in "Armenia's Supreme Appeal to Civilization," *The Armenian Herald*, 2:123 (Feb., March, April, 1919).

<sup>68</sup> Quoted by Crabites, pp. xxviii. (Preface of Aslan).



tion and Turkey had been beaten. There seemed to be nothing to prevent the union of the Armenian districts in Russia, Persia and Turkey into a single large state. The Armenian question would be merely one of fixing its boundaries. Armenia would

then be helped to take her place in the world.

World War I had witnessed the metamorphosis of the Armenian problem. It now remained to be seen whether the Peace Settlement would provide a just solution for the new Armenian question.

# HEAD MEASUREMENTS OF THE ARMENIANS

VAHE A. SARAFIAN

## Introduction

In installment No. 3 of this series (December, 1954 issue, No. 28), we discussed Cephalic Index of the Armenians, thus reversing the normal procedure for discussion of head measurements and indices. However, Cephalic Index, which logically should be treated as near the last of a series of observations on the head, is sufficiently well-known and of sufficient general interest to be treated out-of-order and individually in an article. This installment will deal with the remaining usual head measurements, their indices, and four general observations.

It should be observed that head measurements are of the greatest racial significance. While *round-headedness* (brachycephaly), *long headedness* (dolichocephaly), *high headedness* (hypsiccephaly), *low-headedness* (chamaecephaly), and other descriptions of the head are very important in racial classifications, a finer distinction is necessary for a valid study in view of the knowledge accumulated in the modern science of genetics. It is known now that the entire head is not inherited as a unit, but that the various parts are inherited from either parental line partly on the basis of chance. While it is beyond the scope of this study to enter into a full discussion of the genetics believed involved, even a cursory survey indicates that the subject is complex.

As a writer of a popular introductory genetics text-book has stated:

Quite a number of genes are involved in determining head shapes, some genes working toward roundness, some toward length, some toward size, and some toward special shaping. The complexity of the factors makes difficult any accurate predictions of what children's head shapes will be. But in general, the genes for round head tend to dominate those for long head.

The inherited tendencies to one type of head shape or another assert themselves quite strongly from birth onward (although, with the same genes, boys' heads start off by being somewhat rounder than those of girls, and end up by being somewhat longer). Among certain primitive peoples heads are artificially shaped by various appliances, but in less marked ways head-shaping may be somewhat influenced in our own world by prenatal factors, and later by diet and habits of sleeping, eating and talking. The principal head shape change in the United States has been a certain degree of lengthening which has come largely with the increase in stature.

Differences in head sizes, grading from fairly large to fairly small within the normal range, also result from an interplay of heredity and environment.

(Amram Scheinfeld: *The New You and Heredity*)

While too much importance is ascribed by the above writer to environmental factors on too little evidence, the basic facts are correct. The Armenian experience shows that factors for head breadth and head height exert a domin-

ance in inheritance, that the characteristic high and roundheadedness is primarily due to these two factors. While these two factors *may* be caused by genes, it is also possible for them to be due to a *lack* of genes for an opposite or different condition. Evidence of Armenian and other Middle Eastern crania throughout the past three millenia suggests the possibility that a gene operates to shorten head length, in combination with a broadening of the head.

At the same time, environmental factors must not be disregarded, for the food supply may well have affected the prevalence or the degree of brachycephaly in the Armenian population. Certainly, Ivanovsky's 88 Armenians from Erivan Province, who had a mean cephalic index of 85.1 before a famine and 86.7 after, seem to indicate that Armenians become more roundheaded when faced by nutritional crises; the Russian and Ukrainian experience is just the contrary, with an accentuated tendency toward longer headedness. This apparently means that the Armenians *do have* a different set of genes operating on head form, with a different reaction to the same stimuli or depressants, in this case famine. How those genes affect the total nationality and its various parts now becomes the issue, since it is not possible in the present state of knowledge to isolate exactly what genes are in operation.

### Head Length

Known more properly as the *antero-posterior diameter*, head length is one of the more important measurements known to the physical anthropologist. Revealing a variance between the different races of mankind, head length measurements among the Armenians tend toward divergence between those showing different racial ancestry, even when those racial features are so mixed as to be nearly indistinguishable. Head length is the measurement in millimeters of the extreme length of the skull and its skin covering, from *glabella* (that is, the point between the eyes and above the nasal root) to *opisthocranion* (that is, the most projecting point of the lower part of the back of the head, or occiput).

There is a great spread in the actual measurement, varying from 157 mm. for females and 163 for males to 196 for females and 230 mm. for males. Male means for head length on various Armenian samples vary from 173 mm. to 195 mm. The female means vary from 172 mm. to 186 mm., and thus reveal a possibly greater uniformity inherent in the head length of Armenian women. Although Kherumian found that Armenian women had a range from 157 mm. to 196 mm., the great majority of his sample must have been similar to those of Kossovitch and Ariens Kappers, for the means given are remarkably alike; Kherumian females . . . 174.0, Kossovitch females . . . 174.3, and Ariens Kappers females . . . 174.8 mm. Chantre's earlier series of 44 Armenian women from "Migri, Digh, Akoulis, Nakitchevan, Akhaltzick, Hadjin, Cesaree, and Sis" revealed a mean length of 175.9, only slightly higher than the other series. My composite of 335 measurements of Armenian females given a similar result of 174.37 mm. for female head length.

The following table of head-length measurements brings together the major available studies, and includes the findings of Weninger and Wagenseil, which have just become available to me:

ORIGIN:	NO.:	MEAN:	RANGE:	AUTHOR:
Hadjin (Fem.)	2	172.	167-177	Chantre
Sis (Fem.)	3	173.	167-182	Chantre
Nor Bayazid	11	173.	168-185	Chantre
Females	154	174.0	157-196	Kherumian
Meghri (Fem.)	5	174.	162-185	Chantre
Asia Minor (Fem.)	137	174.3	—	Kossovitch
Composite (Fem.)	335	174.37	—	Sarafian
Urghub	2	174.5	174-175	Chantre
Syria (Fem.)	—	174.8	—	Ariens Kappers
Akoulis (Fem.)	9	175.	173-182	Chantre
Females	44	175.9	—	Chantre
Igdir	9	176.	165-188	Chantre
Nakhitchewan (Fem.)	5	176.	173-178	Chantre
Akhaltikh (Fem.)	18	177.	170-184	Chantre
Nakhitchewan	5	178.	174-188	Chantre
Nor Nakhitchewan	113	179.0	—	Anserov
Hadjin	18	179.	172-187	Chantre
Tiflis	15	179.	175-186	Chantre
Erivan	27	179.	170-188	Chantre
Erivan	24	179.	—	Erikson
Gol (Transc.)	15	180.	171-192	Chantre
Sis	11	180.	172-189	Chantre
Diverse	25	181.1	—	Hrdlicka
Urmia	3	181.	178-185	Chantre
Shousha (Karabagh)	8	181.	179-183	Chantre
Elizavetpol	47	181.	—	Erikson
Total Series (Fem. incl.)	341	181.	—	Chantre
Kars	4	181.	—	Erikson
Ghiroussi (Transc.)	28	181.	173-188	Chantre
Tiflis	26	181.	—	Erikson
Total Series	103	181.00	168-197	Erikson
(10.8% of stature)				
Kara-Kilissa	11	181.	174-190	Chantre
Syria	92	181.4	—	Ariens Kappers
West Group	236	181.4	—	Kherumian
Transcaucasus	188	181.58	164-197	Weninger
Transcaucasus	105	181.78	—	Twarianovitz
Shikhavouz (Transc.)	4	182.	168-194	Chantre
Meghri	8	182.	178-189	Chantre
Transcaucasus	20	182.	175-194	Weissenberg
Kamarlu	6	182.	175-187	Chantre
Akhaltikh	19	182.	175-195	Chantre
Diverse: Males only	292	182.08	—	Chantre
Cilicia-Syria (Comp.)	201	182.22	—	Sarafian

<i>Origin:</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Mean:</i>	<i>Range:</i>	<i>Author:</i>
Transcaucasus	19	182.31	169-196	Von Erckert
Total Series: Males	351	182.4	165-230	Kherumian
Kherumian E. Group	1,452	182.79	—	Sarafian
Dobroudja	125	182.96	164-204	Pittard
Yozgat	15	183.	168-197	Chantre
Digh	12	183.	175-188	Chantre
Erzerum District	129	183.02	170-199	Hughes
Kherumian W. Group	1,402	183.25	—	Sarafian
Comp: Males only	3,002	183.39	—	Sarafian
Tathev	17	184.	163-194	Chantre
Digh (Fem.)	2	184.	—	Chantre
Asia Minor	50	184.1	—	Wagenseil
Gesaria District	77	184.13	167-202	Hughes
Kharpert District	214	184.14	164-214	Hughes
Sivas District	143	184.17	167-202	Hughes
Marash District	80	184.20	170-202	Hughes
Diverse: mainly W.	101	184.30	169-203	Seltzer
Kherumian W. Group	444	184.58	—	Hughes
Asia Minor	234	184.6	—	Kossovitch
(10.6 % of stature)				
East Group	115	184.6	—	Kherumian
Istanbul District	86	184.74	167-205	Hughes
Total Series	1,100	184.87	164-214	Hughes
Kherumian E. Group	656	185.06	—	Hughes
Bitlis District	83	185.57	167-214	Hughes
Caucasus Proper	2	186.	—	Erikson
Gesaria	5	186.	184-190	Chantre
Van District	132	186.00	164-208	Hughes
Born in Asia Minor	—	186.	—	Boas
(10.9 % of stature)				
Mainly Asia Minor	75	186.39	—	Boas
Diarbekir District	58	186.53	173-205	Hughes
Akoulis	15	187.	178-198	Chantre
Erivan District	98	188.10	170-208	Hughes
Everek (near Gesaria)	3	189.	180-198	Chantre
Gollu (Transc.)	17	192.	186-198	Chantre
Born in U. S. A.	9	193.	—	Boas
Sulivan (Transc.)	13	195.	188-203	Chantre

The above-given figures reveal a heterogeneity in the Armenian population, with emphatic tendencies toward short-headedness apparent in many areas. The discrepancy between some findings is somewhat confusing, as for example the figures given for Erivan by Chantre, Erikson, and Hughes, varying from 179. and 179. to 188.10 respectively. This may be accounted for by the number measured, the personal technique of the investigator, the limiting of the sample almost exclusively to the town by the first two while Hughes included



all Russian Armenia in "Erivan District", but possibly also, very significantly if so, by the year and place of measurement. The environmental-nutritional effect on head length may be of a certain degree of importance in the various studies.

I have brought several studies together in order to create large samples capable of revealing the overall national picture. Thus, I have merged into a composite series of 335 measurements, with a mean of 174.37, the figures given for Armenian females by Chantre, Kossovitch, and Kherumian. My result of 174.37 is in substantial agreement with the results of Kherumian (174.0), Kossovitch (174.3), Ariens Kappers (174.8), and Chantre (175.9).

Similarly bringing together series to form composites (means of the means), I have established a sample of 201 males for Cilicia-Syria, a region historically distinct from the rest of Armenia. The mean of 182.22 found tends to raise the low readings given by Chantre and Ariens Kappers for various Cilician and Syrian samples (179., 180., 181.4) and to lower the figure given by Hughes for the "Marash District", that is Cilicia Proper (184.20).

Analyzing Hughes's material against Kherumian's, as I previously did for Cephalic Index (see ARM. REV., No. 28), I have placed the various district categories of Hughes into the overall two classes of Kherumian, namely East Group and West Group. Hughes's figure for Kherumian's East Group (185.06) is nearly identical to that found by Kherumian himself (184.6). A composite I have assembled for Kherumian's East Group would tend to reduce head length to a mean of 182.79 for 1,452 individuals. The composite represents series of Chantre, Kherumian, Hughes, Erikson, Weissenberg, Weninger, and von Erckert.

Hughes's figure for Kherumian's East Group is very close to the figure he gives for places included in Kherumian's West Group (185.06 against 184.58). This compares with a figure for the West Group area of 184.30 given by Seltzer. My own composite series of 1,402 males for Kherumian's West Group area reveals a mean of 183.25, not significantly different. *Thus we can state that there are no significant head length differences between the East Group and the West Group Armenians though there may be marked local differences.* This is shown in the fact that a general composite of 3,002 males from all areas of Armenian settlement yields a mean of 183.39, which is close to my means for both West and East Groups (183.25 and 182.9 respectively). This composite is drawn from the series offered by Anserov, Hrdlicka, Erikson, Kherumian, Twarianovitz, Ariens Kappers, Weissenberg, Weninger, Chantre, Wagenseil, von Erckert, Pittard, Kossovitch, Boas, and Hughes.

Kherumian, however, seeking the particular differences which may exist between the West Group and the East Group, has shown a variance in regional percentages, and comparing with Weninger (Transcaucasus) and Wagenseil (Asia Minor), as follows:

	K h e r u m i a n		Wagenseil	Weninger	
	Total	East	West		
Short (X-181)	49.3%	38.94%	54.20%	28.0	51.6
Medium (182-189)	37.9	39.82	36.98	60.0	36.7
Long (190-199)	11.1	17.70	7.98	10.0	11.7
Very Long (200-X)	1.7	3.54	0.84	2.0	0.0

Erikson gave per-centage of distribution for his 103 Armenian men from the Transcaucasus, and comparing with other series, as follows:

	Erikson	Twarianovitz	Anserov	Weninger
X to 170	3%	1.9%	5.3%	4.8%
171 to 180	43	44.8	40.7	38.9
181 to 190	49	43.8	51.3	47.8
191 to X	5	9.5	2.7	8.5

For the purpose of establishing the place of the Armenians among neighboring peoples where head length is concerned, the following comparative table has been prepared:

COMPARATIVE TABLE: HEAD LENGTH

<i>People</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Mean:</i>	<i>Author:</i>
Assuris	22	173.	Chantre
Takhtadji and Bektashi	50	176.40	Von Luschan
Khaldeans (Mosul)	178	178.0	Ariens Kappers
Druses	90	178.2	Ariens Kappers
Alawi	145	178.5	Ariens Kappers
Lebanese	175	180.6	Ariens Kappers
Greeks of Asia Minor	145	180.7	Neophytos
Turks	200	180.93	Hasluck and Morant
Albanians	95	181.59	Weninger
Lebanese	163	183.03	Seltzer
Total Series: Syrians	263	183.06	Seltzer
Bulgars	100	183.24	Hasluck and Morant
Alawi	53	183.75	Seltzer
Serbs	292	184.32	Rolleder
Montenegrians	114	184.97	Krampflichtschek
Georgians	900	185.	Dzhavahov
Turks	200	185.4	Pittard
Norashen Tats	14	186.	Chantre
No. Albanians	1,067	186.18	Coon
Syrians: Homs-Hama-Alep	17	186.18	Seltzer
Syrian: Beduins	103	187.1	Ariens Kappers
Greeks	145	187.2	Pittard
Bulgars	200	188.3	Pittard
Circassians	54	188.3	Ariens Kappers
Syrians: Damascus	19	188.37	Seltzer

#### Head Breadth (Transverse Diameter)

In studying the absolute broad-headedness of the Armenians, we are particularly interested in the question whether the relative broadheadedness displayed in Armenian Cephalic Index series is reflected in unusually large measurements of breadth. The transverse diameter, or head breadth measurement, is

the number of millimeters of maximum distance between *left euryon* and *right euryon*, euryon being the most projecting spot above the ear. Thus, the distance between the two *euryon* points is the maximum width of the head.

As in head length, there is a marked spread in the Armenian measurement distribution, the range for males varying from 130 to 176 mm., that for females from 130 to 167 mm. It must be noted, however, that the failure of Kherumian to present his data for head breadth of Armenian females makes any adequate discussion of sex differentiation in this feature impossible. The following table presents the major available series on the head breadth measurement of Armenians:

ORIGIN:	NO.	MEAN:	RANGE:	AUTHOR:
Hadjin (Fem.)	2	136.	132-140	Chantre
Digh (Fem.)	2	143.	130-156	Chantre
Akhaltikh (Fem.)	18	146.	138-154	Chantre
Meghri (Fem.)	5	147.	139-152	Chantre
Akoulis (Fem.)	9	149.	141-156	Chantre
Gol	15	150.	138-158	Chantre
Nor Bayazid	11	150.	143-156	Chantre
Igdir	9	150.	140-160	Chantre
Females (Syria)	—	150.4	—	Ariens Kappers
Van	—	151.2	—	Kherumian
Sis (Fem.)	3	152.	151-155	Chantre
Meghri	8	152.	143-161	Chantre
Moush-Bitlis	—	152.4	—	Kherumian
Erivan	27	153.	142-163	Chantre
Akhaltikh	19	153.	145-170	Chantre
Transcaucasus	20	153.	144-168	Weissenberg
Asia Minor	234	153.7	130-165	Kossovitch
East Group	115	153.7	—	Kherumian
Nakhitchewan	5	154.	150-158	Chantre
Kamarlu	6	154.	150-159	Chantre
Tiflis	15	154.	148-160	Chantre
Yozgat	15	154.	145-162	Chantre
Urgub	2	154.	—	Chantre
New Nakhitchewan	113	154.0	140-172	Anserov
Total Series: Males	351	154.1	135-173	Kherumian
West Group	236	154.3	—	Kherumian
Hadjin	18	155.	146-164	Chantre
Gesaria	5	155.	145-164	Chantre
Diverse	25	155.0	—	Hrdlicka
Born in U. S. A.	9	155.5	—	Boas
Transcaucasus	187	155.59	142-174	Weninger
Kara-Kilissa	11	156.	148-164	Chantre
Erivan	24	156.	—	Erikson
Kars	4	156.	—	Erikson
Caucasus Proper	2	156.	—	Erikson

Total Series: Males	292	156.13	—	Chantre
Syria	92	156.20	—	Ariens Kappers
Van District	131	156.22	141-173	Hughes
Kherumian W. Gr.	1,307	156.40	—	Sarafian
Transcaucasus	19	156.42	145-170	Von Erckert
Dobroudja	125	156.54	143-171	Pittard
Composite: Males	2,803	156.63	—	Sarafian
Istanbul District	86	156.82	141-173	Hughes
Kherumian E. Gr.	1,496	156.83	—	Sarafian
Cilicia-Syria Comp.	201	156.95	—	Sarafian
Shikhavouz	4	157.	151-169	Chantre
Shousha (Karabagh)	8	157.	155-158	Chantre
Gesaria District	77	157.08	138-173	Hughes
Total Series	103	157.50	139-171	Erikson
Diarbekir District	58	157.57	147-173	Hughes
Kharpert District	214	157.63	135-176	Hughes
Bitlis District	83	157.69	135-173	Hughes
Kherumian E. Group	655	157.77	—	Hughes
Transcaucasus	105	157.82	—	Twarianovitz
Total Series	1,099	157.84	135-176	Hughes
Kherumian W. Group	444	157.88	—	Hughes
Diverse: mainly West	101	157.90	143-173	Seltzer
Chiroussi	28	158.	152-165	Chantre
Akoulis	15	158.	151-167	Chantre
Tiflis	26	158.	—	Erikson
Elizavetpol	47	158.	—	Erikson
Sis	11	158.	148-164	Chantre
Erivan District	98	158.05	144-176	Hughes
Marash District	80	158.12	138-173	Hughes
Sivas District	143	158.26	141-176	Hughes
Digh	12	159.	146-164	Chantre
Born in Asia Minor	75	159.43	—	Boas
Erzerum District	129	159.48	141-173	Hughes
Tathev	17	160.	146-169	Chantre
Nakhitchewan (Fem.)	5	160.	158-167	Chantre
Urmia	3	162.	—	Chantre
Everek	3	164.	160-168	Chantre
Sullivan	13	164.	152-175	Chantre
Gollu	17	165.	149-172	Chantre

The above table reveals several inconsistencies in results. The figures for Erivan cause some puzzlement, for Chantre, Erikson, and Hughes have found quite different measurement means, 153., 156., and 158.05 respectively. The figure given for Van by Kherumian (151.2) is radically different from that found by Hughes (156.22). Likewise, the figures of Kherumian and Hughes for the Bitlis District (152.4 against 157.69 respectively) show a serious discrepancy. Apparently, the Armenian populations within the various districts

are very heterogeneous in composition, including individuals ranging from narrow to broad dimensions.

This conclusion is seen to be valid by a per-centage rating of various samples. Using the Scheidt classification system, Kherumian compared his East Group and West Group series against his total series, as follows:

	TOTAL	EAST	WEST
Very Narrow (X - 138)	0.8%	2.65%	—
Narrow (139-149)	20.6	24.78	18.49
Medium (150-158)	57.0	47.79	60.08
Wide (159 - X)	21.6	24.78	21.43

It would appear from this that the East Group area, that is approximately Great Armenia, contains more narrow headed persons than the West Group area, 27.43% against 18.49%. Similarly, the West appears to have significantly more in the medium range.

Using the standard known as the "Vienna school classification" (*"nach der Wienerschule"*), Weninger, in his 1951 publication of measurements taken on 187 World War I Transcaucasian Armenian prisoners-of-war- from the Russian Army, gives the following per-centage distribution:

Very Narrow (X - 139)	0.0%
Narrow (140-147)	10.7
Medium Wide (148-155)	42.2
Wide (156-163)	38.0
Very Wide (164 - X)	9.1

Other series of Transcaucasian and Caucasian Armenians compare as follows:

	Weninger	Twarianovitz*	Erikson*	Anserov*
X - 150	20.4%	7.6%	9.%	23.0%
151-160	57.7	66.7	60.	66.3
161-170	21.4	24.8	30.	10.7
171 - X	0.5	0.9	1.	—

Dividing up the various categories of long and short headed in East and West Group classifications, Kherumian found that the average head breadth and percentage standing varied considerably:

Head Length:	Ave. Head Breadth:	East:	West:
Short (181 & less)	151.1	38.94%	54.20%
Medium (182-189)	154.6	39.82	36.98
Long (190-199)	156.4	17.70	7.98
Very Long (200 & more)	156.3	3.54	0.84

\* Adapted from Kherumian and corrected against originals



Thus, in head length and in head breadth the Armenians of Great Armenia have a tendency toward longer headedness than those outside the Armenian heartland, together with a slight tendency toward narrower heads, if Kherumian's figures are in accordance with the fact for the entire nationality. The per-centages of Twarianovitz, Weninger, and Erikson would seem to indicate that the Eastern statistics conform to the West Group basically, that there is no real difference between the two. The composites I have prepared would seem to indicate further that where head breadth is concerned there is no real difference between the areas. My mean for 1,307 individuals in the West Group of Kherumian, a composite series based on the figures of Hughes, Seltzer, Boas, Kossovitich, Pittard, Ariens Kappers, and Kherumian, is 156.40. This is nearly identical to the mean of 156.83 which I have established for a composite series of 1,496 in Kherumian's East Group, based on figures given by Hughes, Weissenberg, Chantre, Weninger, Twarianovitz, Von Erckert, Erikson, and Kherumian. Likewise a composite series I have collected for the Cilicia-Syria area shows a mean of 156.95 for 201 individuals, measured by Hughes, Ariens Kappers, and Chantre. *All the head breadth composite series I have assembled yield means that are remarkably similar.* An overall series of 2,803 yields a mean of 156.63, again similar. This may be an indication that personal variations in technique of some of the original researchers have contributed error into the measurements sufficient to change some results. Such personal error is likely to have been counterbalanced in the assembling of large composite series.

Hughes's figures, when placed in the categories established by Kherumian, are quite at variance with Kherumian's statistics. Kherumian established a mean of 153.7 mm. for his East Group; Hughes's figures would raise that mean to 157.77, while Weninger's 155.59 is intermediate. Kherumian's West Group mean is 154.3; Hughes's figures raise that mean to 157.88. The difference is notable, but the relative value between East and West are not affected. Personal variation of technique alone does not seem a valid explanation of the difference. A strong environmental factor may be involved here, for the Armenian population in the United States (where Hughes measured) is certainly in a potentially far more advantageous nutritional condition than that of France (where Kherumian measured). Could that be part of the explanation of the gross differences?

## COMPARATIVE TABLE: HEAD BREADTH

People:	No.	Mean:	Author:
Syrian: Beduins	103	143.8	Ariens Kappers
Norashen Tats	14	149.	Chantre
Bulgars	200	150.1	Pittard
Homs-Hama-Alep Syrians	17	151.72	Seltzer
Bulgars	100	152.1	Hasluck & Mor.
Turks	200	152.35	Pittard
Takhtadji & Bektashi	50	152.60	Von Luschan
Aliwi	145	152.7	Ariens Kappers
Turks	200	152.65	Hasluck & Morant
Khaldians (Mosul)	178	153.1	Ariens Kappers

Syrian: Damascus	19	153.67	Seltzer
Greeks	145	153.9	Pittard
Georgians	900	154.	Dzhavahov
Circassians	54	154.5	Ariens Kappers
Alawi	53	154.78	Seltzer
Assuris	22	155.	Chantre
Syrians: Total Series	265	155.47	Seltzer
Lebanon	175	155.3	Ariens Kappers
Druses	90	155.5	Ariens Kappers
Serbs	293	156.4	Rolleder
Lebanon	165	156.43	Seltzer
Asia Minor Greeks	142	157.6	Neophytos
No. Albanians	1,067	157.78	Coon
Montenegrins	114	158.09	Krampflictschek
Albanians	95	158.96	Weninger

### Head Height (Vertical Diameter)

The measurement of head height, that is the distance between trignon (at mid-ear) and the top-point of the head, is a very difficult one to compare, for the chances for personal variations, "personal error," are very strong. Generally speaking, the Armenian series show that the Armenian are "hypsicephalic", that is, "high-headed". In the absolute measurement of head height, as well as in its relationship with length and width, the investigators have achieved a goodly measure of agreement. The following table graphically shows the similarity in placing the Armenians into the "high-headed" class in nearly all series, though the means themselves are quite variable, as would be expected on such a difficult measurement. It is the feeling of this writer that Hughes's figures probably are too low because of "personal error" and possibly should be corrected upward.

Origin:	No.	Mean:	Range:	Author:
Erzerum District	129	123.93	102-149	Hughes
Sivas District	143	124.34	110-145	Hughes
Gesaria District	77	125.16	110-145	Hughes
Nor Nakhitchewan	112	125.5	112-148	Anserov
Istanbul District	86	125.92	110-145	Hughes
Kharpert District	214	126.06	110-145	Hughes
Total Series	1,100	126.40	102-153	Hughes
Bitlis District	83	126.86	110-145	Hughes
Transcaucasus	186	126.88	110-141	Weninger
Females	139	127.0	—	Kherumian
Marash	80	127.20	110-149	Hughes
Diverse: mainly West	101	127.24	112-153	Seltzer
Diarbekir District	58	127.84	110-145	Hughes
Kherumian W. Group	871	127.98	—	Sarafian
Kherumian E. Group	1,069	128.10	—	Sarafian

Erivan District	98	128.34	110-153	Hughes
Composite: Males	2,329	128.85	—	Sarafian
Van District	132	128.90	110-149	Hughes
Transcaucasus	19	129.58	116-149	Von Erckert
Asia Minor	234	131.1	—	Kossovitch
Syria	92	131.1	—	Ariens Kappers
Transcaucasus	105	131.85	—	Twarianovitz
Transcaucasus	103	135.5	115-158	Erikson
Diverse	252	135.5	96-168	Kherumian
Diverse	25	137.0	—	Hdrlicka

One scale of values has been established as follows:

Low-Headed ( $X - 119$ )

Medium (120-128)

High-Headed ( $129 - X$ )

On this basis, the Armenian population as a whole must be considered to either belong in the very upper limits of the medium level, or, more probably, in the high-headed class.

Percentile rankings have been given as follows:

	Twarianovitz	Erikson	Anserov	Weninger
$X - 120$	12.4%	5.0%	12.5%	16.7%
121-130	28.6	29.0	62.5	55.9
131-140	40.9	47.0	24.1	26.9
141 - up	18.1	19.0	0.9	0.5

Kherumian has found no great differences between East and West in per-centage distribution, but they may have meaning.

	Total	East	West
$X - 119$	5.55%	2%	6.43%
120-128	15.47	12.	16.34
129 - $X$	79.98	86.	77.23

Weninger has given per-centages as follows for the Vienna school standards:

$X - 109$ Very Low	0.0%
110-117 Low	7.0
118-125 Medium High	30.7
126-133 High	50.5
134 - $X$ Very High	11.8

#### COMPARATIVE TABLE: HEAD HEIGHT

People:	No.	Mean:	Author:
Greeks	145	123.47	Pittard
Bulgars	200	123.48	Pittard
Bulgars	100	123.48	Hasluck & Morant
Turks	200	125.5	Pittard
Alawi	44	126.06	Seltzer
Syrian: Beduins	103	127.	Ariens Kappers

<i>People:</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Mean:</i>	<i>Author:</i>
Total Series: Syrians	252	127.77	Seltzer
Lebanon	161	127.98	Seltzer
No. Albanians	1,067	128.34	Coon
Druses	90	128.5	Ariens Kappers
Khaldians of Mosul	178	128.7	Ariens Kappers
Syrian: Damascus	19	129.11	Seltzer
Syrians: Horns, Hama, Alep	17	129.46	Seltzer
Albanians	95	130.09	Weninger
Serbs	293	130.6	Rolleder
Circassians	54	130.7	Ariens Kappers
Alawi	145	131.0	Ariens Kappers
Lebanon	175	131.8	Ariens Kappers
Montenegrins	115	132.7	Krampflictschek
Asia Minor Greeks	142	132.85	Neophytos
Takhtadji & Bektashi	50	137.34	Von Luschan

### Head Circumference

Unfortunately, too few researchers have measured head circumferences for there to be any value in a detailed analysis here. The following table presents the available figures:

<i>Origin:</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Mean:</i>	<i>Range:</i>	<i>Author:</i>
Transcaucasus	103	542 mm.	497-590	Erikson
Transcaucasus	20	548.	530-570	Weissenberg
Transcaucasus	105	550.33	—	Twarianovitz
Gesaria District	76	554.35	510-609	Hughes
Marash District	80	555.00	510-619	Hughes
Istanbul District	85	555.10	510-619	Hughes
Erzerum District	129	555.62	510-599	Hughes
Sivas District	143	555.80	520-609	Hughes
Composite	1,328	555.98	—	Sarafian
Kharpert District	214	557.60	520-619	Hughes
Total Series	1,096	557.98	510-619	Hughes
Bitlis District	82	559.86	510-609	Hughes
Van District	131	560.50	510-609	Hughes
Diarbekir District	58	562.72	530-599	Hughes
Erivan District	98	563.50	530-609	Hughes

The outstanding fact worth noting, of course in this table is the apparent tendency for larger head circumference in the Eastern Districts than in the Western; there can be no doubt about the relation of the measurements, for they were all conducted by the same person. However, it would appear that most, if not all, the greater head size can be accounted for in size difference, for the stature mean is greater also in the Eastern Provinces involved.

(To be continued)

*(This is a dedication for those who died  
young in our wars. Written July 2, 1951.)*

## Gardenias

I am not to sleep  
With my arms around you.  
I am not to waken  
The dream to desire you.  
I am not to pick GARDENIAS  
From white shoulders  
Although I love you.

I am not to see your face  
In every flower  
I am not to feel each moment  
away from you to be an hour.  
I am not to know that you are sympathy  
And I am power.  
Although I love you.

I am not to sing our song  
In a minor key  
to life's mystery.  
I am not to say "Love me" — or  
"Set me free."  
Although I love you.

I am not to feel the breeze  
That softly clings to you.  
I am not to hear the April's rain  
Promise the Spring to you.  
I am not to see the morning sun  
That brings me up to you.  
Although I love you.

I am not to say where  
Where are my unborn sons?  
I am not to pray for you to stop  
To stop those slaughtering guns!  
I am not to pick  
Your exquisite GARDENIAS.  
Although I love you.

HARRY KOMOORIAN



# THE CYCLONE THAT STRUCK OUR LAND

(MEMOIRS OF H. BAGDASARIAN)

•  
VAHAN MINAKHORIAN

## On The Eve Of The Impending Blow

It was an unusually cold winter. The main street of our village, the only street which might be called respectable, to be exact, was rendered impassable by a thick blanket of snow and the huts of the village groaned under the weight of a white blanket.

Saint Sarkis, our patron saint, was very angry that year. Was it perhaps because so many in our land had neglected their fasting? The skies were sullen, and the ground, it seemed, was wrapped in a somber, mysterious terror. The snowbound fields and hills were howling, shouting after casual passersby — swearing at them. It seemed, life itself was being reduced to dust and everything around us was clamoring for dislocation.

The darkness at night was terrible. In the orchards the skeletons of the trees were hissing a chilling cry as if myriads of corpses were rattling their teeth. At dawn, almost always, in that vast desolation, the cold wind whistled from the skirts of the Der-sim mountains, reaching us like the neighing of unbridled horses, driven by the wind.

It was eventide. Suddenly the winter dusk rushed into our room. My mother got up and lit a lamp, then she sat down and resumed her knitting. It was warm and comfortable inside. My father was seated at his customary corner, on the edge of the settee, quietly rustling the beads of his rosary, while the rest of us snuggled around the fire place. The storm was raging outside, forcing the door of our hut to groan from the impact, and even the weakling light of the lamp on the table was trembling from fear.

Suddenly I heard a knock on our door. It was Bedros Ami.

"What an atrocious day!" he shivered as he looked at the window through his thick wet eyebrows, rubbing his hands the while over the fireplace. He sat down beside my father.

"Good evening."

"Good evening."

Taking off his shoes, he rubbed his feet with the wet stockings to warm himself. His face was blue from the cold and his lips were pale. He removed his Fez — the native headgear — and dried his hair with his handkerchief.

"May it bode well with you," my father said.

"Ah, how can it bode well? But I'm willing to put up with the evil too, if only we could save our mail."

Apparently he had some sort of secret information and my father did not press his question. My mother and I left them and went to join the rest of the family in the adjoining room.

Later, when Bedros Ami departed, we learned that Sahak Vardapet, the Prelate of Erzinka, had been killed at a place called Choban-Tekkes, in the vicinity of the Armenian Village of Aghuanis of Karahissar.

In the morning the news was spread from house to house, just when Chavoush Abdulah made his appearance in the village together with four gendarmes. Accompanied by the *Mukhtar* (Village chief) he made the rounds of the houses where the males had paid their military exemption fees called *Bedel* and announced that they had to go to Kemakh to join the army. The *Bedels* had been cancelled and the fees which they had paid would be returned to them presumably. According to the new orders issued by the Government each citizen was bound to do his active duty in the salvation of the fatherland.

Fifteen youths had paid their *bedels*, among whom were my uncle Armenag, Anikentz Melkon, the Deacon Grigor and others. This came all so fast that the women hardly had time to rustle up some food for the journey.

After the overthrow of the Hamidian regime, as life had resumed its normal course and men could count on the product of their toil unmolested, no one in our village wished any harm to Turkey. Like many other places of our Armenian province, our village was completely cut off from the outside world. The only things which interested us were our school, the church, our safety and our labor. It is quite true

that our village never forgot its remote past, and the natives often indulged in exaggerated and rather glowing recitals of their historical values. But these were merely spiritual luxuriations, devoid of any practical considerations.

And now, as one could plainly feel in the air the impending catastrophe, when the danger was threatened not by the coarse rabble but the very Government itself, the people instinctively expected salvation from the outside which, specifically, might mean the outside world.

News, highly unfavorable to the Turks, in regard to the war, were making the rounds in the village, propagated to us children exclusively by Agop Ami (Uncle Agop), as if the Russians had inflicted a terrible defeat on the Turks at Sarikamish, but the Turks had captured a Caucasian Armenian soldier who, presumably, had once upon a time been the Tsar's violinist. As if Enver Pasha had fled from the battlefield and that the man who saved him from certain death was an Armenian officer from Sivaz. As if the Turkish army was frozen in the snow, was destroyed, and the Russians had occupied Erzeroum and were not far from Erzinka.

Simultaneous with this heartening information, the persecutions were being intensified with each passing day.

Toward the end of March the news arrived that many arrests had taken place in Erzinka and Kemakh. They had been searching Armenian homes for hidden arms. Soon after, there were searches in the Upper and Lower Armenian villages, and although they had found nothing, a large number of influential citizens had been taken to the prison in Kemakh, among whom was the Priest of Kirmizi who was often invited by the natives of Upper Village to come down from his Monastery on occasions of baptism, weddings and burials. Moreover there were some killings in our

mountains, two of them on the road from Erzinka to Kemakh, the victims all being Armenians.

Finally, our turn came. It was again Palm Sunday. As each year, the church was crowded that day, but there was no festive mood in the air. The young brides looked like widows, and the old folk were filled with the spirit of almighty prayer. They were praying for the victory of the good.

Cold colorless shafts of light, white like the mist, were sifting inside the narrow windows, paling the light of the flickering candles. The shadows of the worshippers made grotesque images on the church walls, mimicking their gesticulations.

The ceremony was about over when whispering was heard in the adjoining vestibule and Agop Ami, accompanied by a few men, dashed out of the church, and my childish curiosity aroused, I followed them. There was a company of gendarmes at the church yard who had come to demand the surrender of hidden arms. I turned back to warn my father but he already was on his way out and the crowd was scattering.

Suddenly there was a great commotion. The gendarmes were beating Agop Ami when my father, Bedros Ami, Mukhtar Boghos and others arrived on the scene. Under the blows of the gendarmes Agop Ami swayed and slumped to the ground. My father rushed over to him and helped him rise. The latter drew his hand across his face and wiped off the blood flowing from his nose, painting red his cotton white beard.

"Who are you?" boomed the unknown Chavoush infuriated, a man with the smashed face of a eunuch.

"Sari oglu Stepan. I think we have seen each other before."

"We have met before?"

"Yes, in the presence of Tayir Pasha."

The Chavoush cooled down. "Ha, I remember."

"I don't think our friend Tayir Pasha will like this."

"Not Tayir Pasha, even Allah himself cannot save you this time, until you surrender all your arms," the Chavoush roared, recovering himself.

I was terrified. I thought the Chavoush would bring his whip down on my father's head.

"And if we have none, how are we going to find arms to deliver to you?" my father replied calmly.

"We shall see," the Chavoush said.

Presently, the search of the village was on. They turned topsy turvy the corrals of Parkhin Madt where they supposed the cache lay. Then came the beatings which only my father escaped. Fortunately, many of the men had managed to find a safe hiding place for themselves. My Uncle Gevorg, Mukhtar Boghos and Agop Ami took a terrible beating. Toward evening the gendarmes went away empty-handed, taking along with them the three martyrs.

My sixty-year-old father Sari oglu Stepan was still a strong man, his temples having acquired a silver gray only recently. He had spent his youth in exile in Bulgaria where he had become quite worldly wise. A deep, inconsolable sadness was discernible in his eye. His broad forehead and ponderous nose, coupled with a physically powerful body, betokened an intact prototype of his ancestors. He was the actual patriarch of our village, the leader of our small community. He was a man of few words and he was highly independent. So strong was he physically that the villagers exaggerated his prowess with such awesome rumors that, if necessary, he could lift a whole house with his bare hands and place it on another. He was known everywhere through acquaintances and established contacts.

Early in the morning he mounted a young mule and departed for Kemakh. Of course,

no one in our house dared to ask him about the nature of his mission, but it was plain that he intended to rescue the prisoners.

Days passed and yet my father did not return. An evil premonition kept telling me that he had been laid up in Kemakh or, perhaps, had been beaten to death.

It was Easter, a black Easter, and men sat tight in their homes, calling on one another having now become meaningless. The rare few who called at our home brought no customary gayety with them. They all had sad faces, all spoke in muffled tones, softly, as if fearful of awaking a sleeper. There were no smiles but groans, and sometimes open weeping. It was as if there was a dead body in each home. A sinister terror was suspended in the air.

I wandered around all day long near the hills of Sourb but still no trace of my father. Suddenly I espied three horsemen who were headed toward the village. It was Musa Beg of Kouland Kurds, accompanied by two of his slaves. There were four brothers of these Kurds who were friendly to us and on each Easter occasion one of them called on us to offer his compliments in honor of our Great Festival. I ran to meet them. He was surprised at my incoherent, piecemeal information, thought a moment, then suddenly he raced toward the village, followed by his slaves.

When I reached home the latter were being entertained in our living room. Musa Beg, comfortably ensconced, was listening to the tearful story of my grandmother. He could not believe how anyone could have dared to beat up Agop Ami right near the church. Were they not afraid of Saint Nishan's revenge?

Musa Beg was familiar with the power of our Cross, carefully preserved in our church, which had been built, according to the legend, around a chip of the basin in which the Great Prophet Jesus washed the feet of his disciples. Every time the drought

threatened our fields, the villagers took this cross and made the rounds of the villages of Kalan, after which there was a downpour of torrential rains. He knew how, in the days of Abdul Hamid, when the Lazes laid siege to our village, and having received the demanded ransom, they quarreled among themselves over the division of the loot, killing three of them, all because the ransom included three gold pieces from the Church of Saint Nishan. Finally, he knew of the incident of Kurd Haso who, in trying to steal something from the church of Saint Nishan, had been paralyzed and lost his speech. And now, he could not reconcile all this with the beating of Agop Ami without punishment. Naturally, my grandmother had a greater respect for the power of Saint Nishan's cross but just then she was troubled about the kidnapping of my father whose loss Musa Beg could easily understand.

However, suddenly Musa Beg surprised us. He stood up, cheered my grandmother, and announced that he was immediately going to Kemakh to bring back my father, dead, or alive. Two days later my father returned, accompanied by one of Musa Beg's slaves. My father had spent five days in the jail but had not seen either my Uncle Gevorg or the others. He had been set free on bail by Musa Beg, on condition that he would not leave the village.

How the winter slipped and the spring came we never knew. Those were eventful days, days of fear and terror, one harsher than the other. Meanwhile life continued as before, what with the fields and the vineyards, the sowing and the harvesting, the irrigation, the animals, the bees etc. We were in the midst of this summer labor when suddenly the unprecedented calamity struck. Toward the middle of June, one day early in the morning, our village was surrounded by gendarmes.

Sarkis Aghbar was the first to announce

the news. He was completely tongue-tied, his face white as a sheet, and his eyes squinting, as he stammered the news with wild gesticulations.

"*Hinkerul Hinkerul* — The things, the things — meaning the gendarmes. I dressed swiftly and rushed out to see the newcomers. To the north, six gendarmes held the hill of Parkhin Madt, right next to the village stables; three gendarmes guarded the hills of Sourb Karasounk to the east; five stood guard at the base of Kar Kloukh in the south; and two stood in the west, near the spring of Zara Tzor. The village was surrounded on all sides, the animals were locked up in their folds, while the men watched the scene from the rooftops or the front yards of their homes.

It was difficult to figure the thing out. As far as we knew, the question of hidden arms was closed. The same was true of the question of military service, all the able-bodied youths had been conscripted. The demanded wartime requisition was paid in full.

The moving fog which had descended upon the village from the forests of the Abbey soon disappeared and the sun was shining again, bringing into sharp relief the rifle barrels of the gendarmes on Parkhin Madt Hill.

Presently, three of them separated themselves from the company and started for the village. I immediately recognized Abdulla Chavoush and the other chavoush with the face of a eunuch. The third was an ordinary gendarme. They were coming straight toward us. They stopped at the creek where my father and a few villagers were waiting. The Chavoush's face whose name was Suleyman verily dripped with poison.

"Who is the chief here?" he boomed, turning to my father.

"We have no chief, we are at your service," my father replied meekly.

"By order of the Government, as a war-time contingency your village will move elsewhere. You have two days in which to set your affairs in order. There will be no threat to life or property. We have orders to escort you to your new place. You may take along anything you like — clothing, food, bedding and animals. There's no need of loading yourselves because the deportation is only temporary, and as soon as the war is over and conditions permit you shall return to your village. Until then the Government will watch over the property you leave behind. Any resistance or disobedience to this order will be dealt with ruthlessly — and punishment by death."

No one dared interrupt the deathly silence which followed. All the same, it was difficult to comprehend the spoken words, plain as they were. How could we move elsewhere? We could have expected anything but that.

"Will you kindly tell where you are going to move us?" my father asked in a shaky voice.

"In all probability to a new village in the region of Mezkep," the Chavoush was calm and dry.

"I beg you to give us a little more time until we can appeal to the city authorities."

"It's useless even to talk about it. After two days the man who stays behind will meet with a bullet," the Chavoush barked, heading for the orchard.

He stopped near a compound of two hundred beehives under the fertile trees and shook his head reprovingly, as if we had stolen them. Then cutting his way through the stunned crowd, he headed straight for Baghchin Tzor.

My father made one last attempt to come to an understanding with Abdulla Chavoush for a prolongation of the time limit but that hypocrite begged off, posing as a subordinate officer with no authority.

In a moment the news of the approaching



catastrophe was spread in the village. The women and the girls were scurrying from house to house, the children scattered on the rooftops, the old women gathered around the elevation near our home. The menfolk in the forefront of the courtyard were jabbering away incoherently. Confusion reigned all around, like swirling bees which had just been let loose from their hive.

Those who were more or less intelligent were assembled in our living room, but here, again, it was noise and confusion.

"My God! How can you think of moving to Mezkep Chay? What will happen to our home, our field, our property? Such a thing is unimaginable!" remarked one of the men.

"Let us say Mezkep. *Ondan sonra?* (After that what?). Do you think the matter will end there?"

"How sh-sh-cm-ould we know? The *hinks* will su-su-surely kill us."

"I wonder what will happen to the inhabitants of Upper Village?"

"If we only knew the Lower Village will be spared!"

"How far can they deport us. Are we not deported far enough in these mountains?"

"Good brothers, we must first know what has happened to the Armenians of the other regions."

"Man alive, what have we to do with the others? Let us look after our own worries. God knows we have troubles enough."

"All right, brothers, listen to me. If we leave the village it means the Government has need of our village. Very well, let us give them the village, and in return, ask them to give us permission to put up at the compound of Kar Tzor, until. . . . ."

"How can we manage these many people in those corrals?"

"What else can we do? You tell us."

"They will massacre us. This is the beginning of the massacre, brethren. Open wide your eyes."

The anguish was unprecedented. Men had lost their heads. My father who had been listening to them in silence, finally said sadly:

"First, let us collect ourselves and be calm. This thing is unlike anything we have gone through before. Think no more of the old massacres. This one is even worse, more terrible than all the other massacres. There are only two ways out of this situation. The first is to submit to the Government's arrangement and rely on God. The other is refuse to submit, take a stand and die in the village."

A piercing wail broke out from the women who were assembled near the building.

"I am not committing myself," my father continued, "but if you ask me, the latter course is the wiser. At least the children will be spared." Suddenly my grandmother rushed inside through the threshold.

"Stepan, what are you saying? Come to your senses," she screamed reprovingly.

This was the first time I was hearing my grandmother call his son by his first name of Stepan. For a moment, it seemed to me, my father would jump up and strangle my grandmother. But he controlled himself. Trembling with anger, he crouched back in his seat, grasping his head in both hands.

The silence was broken by Oddantz Khachatour. "Compatriots," he said disarmingly, "it was already stated that this one is unlike our former trials. The men who threaten us are not the Lazes, the Hamidian murderers, but it is the Government that wants to destroy us. In former massacres there were always some lost fragments which were recovered under the ruins. We would start from there and rebuild ourselves. But now the danger threatens our very existence. Do you know what it means to exchange one's birthplace for another, to be dispossessed more than a criminal, to be deprived daily of one's home, one's labor, the thing which has become our flesh and

bone throughout the years? To become the targets of hatred and persecution, to be thrown into the cold of the wilderness, homeless and shelterless, to trudge the long road to exile for miles with our children. To realize that you shall never again sleep in a decent bed, will not eat or drink at a decent table? To become unfree like a condemned convict whom anyone can kill on sight without being punished for it?"

"What can we do? What can we do?" the shouts interrupted him.

"My personal opinion is, we can neither submit nor not to submit. There is only one way out for us, and that is, to burn the village and flee."

"Burn the village and flee?"

Khachatour Effendi's large eyes focussed sharply. "Yes Compatriots," he cried, "as soon as darkness falls we must burn the village and seek refuge with the Kurks of Koulan."

"That can never be. Before we make Baghchi Tzor they will behead us all like chicken," retorted Bedros Ami with his customary calmness. "*On dan sonra*, it is not an easy thing to run away from the Government with all the children. Let me say to my brother, *On dan sonra*? where are we going to flee? Wherein are the Kurds of Koulan any better than the Turks? No longer will you have your Funrijan Hassan, your Sheik Abdulla, your Musa Beg. It is quite true that the minute we leave the village we will find himself. I know one way of escape but I dare not utter it."

Bedros Ami was about to speak but suddenly turned around and said to himself, "Get thee behind me, Satan."

"Speak, speak up, let's hear it."

"Come now, we beg you, tell us what it is."

Finally, Bedros Effendi spoke. "On my way up here," he said, "I came face to face with Abdulla Chavoush."

"Right near my home?" Muguerdich Bad-

veli asked, completely drained of all color.

"Yes."

"What did he want?"

"I don't know."

"Did he enter into my home?"

"Drop it, for God's sake. Let us hear what he has to say," the chorus shouted.

"I asked him, 'where are you taking us, Abdulla Effendi?' continued Bedros Ami. "He said, 'ask me no questions, it is bad, if you have any brains, become converts of Islam and save your lives from certain danger.' '*On dan sonra*?' I said, 'can we save ourselves by becoming Moslems?' He does not reply at once. Then he says, 'You and Muguerdich Effendi, if you accept Islam, I can save you from the exile.' Consider,' he says, 'I will save you from the exile.' 'Very well,' I say, 'our Jesus is also a Prophet, *on dan sonra*, is it not true that Allah is one?' 'No,' he says, 'only our Allah is one, but yours is three, the father, the mother and the son, you have three gods.' Then I say, 'very well, if we all espouse Islam, can you save us? *On dan sonra*, I say, we naturally will never forget your kindness.' 'I can,' he says, 'delay the time limit of the exile, until you negotiate with the Qadi (Judge) of Kemakh.'"

There was such a commotion among the men that Bedros could not finish his word. In the general turmoil there broke in an old woman, Kheshim Mama, she stood before the crowd, her hands clamped on her hips, and shouted defiantly:

"I cannot stamp the seal of the beast on my pure brow. I was born an Armenian and an Armenian I shall die."

"Yes, Yes," screamed Sarkis Aghbar through the commotion, "let's live *Hink* and die *Hink*."

"Silence! We have not yet become Moslems," my father shouted, "continue Bedros Ami. Finish what you were saying."

But Bedros Ami already was crestfallen. He could hardly mumble the words:

"What I'm trying to say is this. If once upon a time our princes simulated apostasy just to gain time, and rallied around our national hero Vardan, why can't we do the same thing?"

"In other words you want us to become like Vasak?" Muguerdich Badveli observed with surprise.

"It's you who is the Vasak!" Bedros Ami was purple with rage.

I was terrified. For a moment I thought there would be a fight.

"Can't you hear what he says?"

"Forgive me," Muguerdich Badveli apologized. "I did not mean to insult him. I'm only afraid that when Gabriel the Archangel comes to the Village of Sourb Nishan to gather the souls, he will not want to take your soul to heaven."

"*Pek giuzal* — Very well, let him take your soul once, *ondan sonra* the rest is easy," shot back Bedros Ami.

Quiet was restored inside, but outside the women kept up their wailing.

"To deny the faith of Christ, the light of the Illuminator! Has it come to this?"

"My compatriots," Khachatour Effendi took the floor placatingly. "I wish to call your attention to what Bedros Ami has said. That's the only way to gain time. Vasak was not a renegade as he has been thought, but he was a great statesman. Would to God we could save our village the way he saved his ancestral land of Siunik. Besides, we won't be Moslems by merely chanting '*La-ilaha illallah*, or reciting their ritual. But by doing so we shall gain time until we know what we shall do."

"I consider it useless to talk further about that," my father interrupted. "What we need most just now is unity, but that's the tare which divides us. I have no doubt that that was the precise thought Abdulla Chavoush had when he made his proposition."

"I, too, think that we must skip this matter, but we must examine the other ques-

tions patiently. A decision is arrived at through consultation, therefore, we must move with discretion." This from Hez Hayrapet.

There was a general relaxation among the debaters. Arguing in a circle, with no way out, wearied brains gradually surrendered.

Finally Muguerdich Badveli took the floor. "I don't know," he said, "why we digressed so far from the subject and hurt one another. Have you forgotten that the Bible says, 'He maketh me lie down in green pastures; He leadeth me beside the still waters.' They are expelling us from our village and they are giving us another place to live in. Can we go against that? We cannot. They tell you the deportation is only temporary. It's up to us, therefore, to submit and do our best that we shall reach our new place as soon as possible. I am fully aware that we shall sustain many hardships and privations. But I believe that we shall return, because, again it is written, 'He restoreth my soul; He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake.'"

"There's no return from this particular road, Badveli," sighed Bedros Ami, speaking in the Turkish language, thinking perhaps he could make himself better understood. "This particular road is an evil road. *Ondan sonra*, it is a murderous road. There's no return from this road, Badveli."

"I repeat my former proposition," Tatos Ami urged. "Let us make an attempt to put up at the compound of Kar Tzor, right near the village, our homes, our fields our orchards in full sight. Never mind if there are too many of us. We will expand the compound, we will build new corrals. We can manage the animals, the beehives, the chicken, the sheep and the goat. Mind you, the fruit is already ripening."

"Bravo, Bravo, Brother Tatos," Annig Mama exclaimed across the front yard,

whose only concern was to garner her fruit crop before it was stolen. "The fruit crop this year is exceptionally good," she said as she came inside and took a seat beside my grandmother Kheshim Mama. She was followed by Zakartzi, Nazretzi and Incheh Mama's.

"A sweet tongue, only through a sweet tongue can any task be accomplished," Incheh Mama said. "We have no protector, we have no king, what can we do?"

The consensus of opinion leaned toward Tatos Ami whose plan would enable us both to leave the village, and yet not totally abandon it. They brought out such detailed operations about establishing residence in the compound of Kar Tzor which no man had thought of. Their words made the same impression on dislocated brains as a wet cloth would have on a feverish brow.

My father bowed his head, crushed and submissive. Bedros Ami seemed asleep, leaning on his inseparable cane. Eritentz Kirakos puckered his lips and blew in the air, like one playing a flute. Vanity of vanities was written on the face of Oddantz Khachatour. But Muguerdich Badveli was listening to the old grandmother, without batting an eye. The convulsive expression of Sarkis Aghbar slowly died down and assumed a tranquil and a more hopeful look. Hez Hayrapet was supporting the old grandmothers with affirmative nods of the head.

What could they do when there was no other way out? The problem was, however, how to convert words into deeds. Naturally, the first item to be tackled was the bribe — a large bribe. But since the matter could not easily be solved by a mere bribe, it was necessary to exert extreme caution, with a maximum of diplomacy.

Tatos Ami had a sweet tongue, but at the same time he was truculent. Thus, the two principal attributes of statemanship stood in contradiction. But since he was

the author of the proposal, it was natural that he should take the initiative. In his opinion, the first thing to do was to tender the gendarmes who surrounded the village a decent reception. Was it not true that we were not bandits but loyal citizens of the Government? Why should the gendarmes stay in the hills? Let them take quarters at the new school building. Let the rooms be furnished with mattresses and rugs. As to food? Had not the men been starving ever since morning?

Once this was decided upon Tatos Ami was not the man to stop in the middle of the stream. With the Agha's of the village he could take some provisions to the gendarmes at the compound of Parkhin Madt, where he could broach the subject with Suleyman Chavoush.

"As to the sum of the bribe," he added, turning to my father, "let others take care of it."

"*Ghaboul*" — So be it — my father assented curtly.

Once the matter was settled, the rest was easy. Crossing themselves, the grannies got up and left, to regiment the young brides to do the work.

In less than half an hour Sev Harout, Rouben, Mazarjuni Haroutune, Boghos, Yervand, Hovhaness, David, Karekin, Hookas, Nishan, Hapet and I, each holding a bundle of provisions, were on our way to Parkhin Madt Hill to meet the Chavoush, and with his permission, to divide the provisions among the rest of the gendarmes.

Tatos Ami headed the delegation. I carried honey, butter thin yellowish slabs of bread and *Ghavourma* — small morsels of mutton fried in suet. The others carried milk, *Madzoun*, congealed cream, cooling sour milk and other victuals. We were like men besieged in a fortress, and yet the besieged were supplying food to the besiegers.

Up to the proximity of the corral Bedros Ami was setting the pace with long

swift strides and we could hardly keep up with him. But the nearer we came the more he slowed down. Suddenly he came to a halt. The gendarmes had espied us and had risen to their feet. The barrels of their rifles were glistening in the sun.

"I trust the blackguards don't fire upon us," Bedros Ami mumbled to himself.

But, on the contrary, they were beckoning us to come over.

The gendarmes received us with extreme pleasure. Suleyman Chavoush thanked Tatos Ami for his consideration and instantly sat down to partake of the food, inviting him the while to sit down. Tatos Ami waved his hand in a triumphant signal for us to retire and wait at a distance.

The gendarmes were devouring the food voraciously. Their chief intermittently cast a questioning look at Tatos Ami who apparently was talking. Tatos Ami already had plunged into his diplomatic mission.

The way it looked to me, Tatos Ami was making some headway, coaxing the snake from his hole with a sweet tongue. I crawled up a little closer and I could plainly hear them. Tatos Ami was begging the Chavoush to spare the old folk like him. The young men had been enlisted in the army, only the old remained behind, old women, the women and the children. He knew that the orders had come from the higher-ups, but he was confident that a good deal also depended on Chavoush Effendi. His kindness would be fully rewarded by Allah, but the village, in its turn, would never forget his goodness.

Suleyman Chavoush pushed aside the Madzoun, wiped his thin mustache with his fingers, rolled them, then thrusting his chin out at Tatos Amis, said: "You know what, old man? Your only salvation is in espousing Islam, including the children. Do you want to accept Islam, or not? Huh! Don't beat about the bush. Yes or no."

"Well yes, why not?" Tatos Ami finally ventured. "We old folk are sinners and can

adopt Islam, but what is the sin of our children that they should be Islamized, Effendi?"

Suddenly Tatos Ami felt a resounding slap on his face and in no time at all the place was a bedlam. Suleyman Chavoush jumped up like a mad man, kicked away the Madzoun bowl, and grabbing his whip started to beat up Tatos Ami mercilessly.

"What did you say, Huh? Sin? You consider Islam a sin? *Giavour* dog! Here is the sin. Take this and this and this."

I ran away from there and the rest of my companions joined me at the corral. On the hill we could still hear the sound of the whiplash and the bellowings of Tatos Ami. I was out of breath when I reached home. The villagers had seen the whole thing from their rooftops. The men were emerging from our front yard, moving like stooping shadows. It was too risky to be congregated at a time like this. The women and children were milling around near the mound of Atar.

A group of the old women, however, were in no hurry. My grandmother was telling them a dream of hers in a low voice, almost a whisper.

"Last night the grandmother," she was relating in a shaking voice, "the Kizil Priest of Upper Village. . . . ."

And Incheh Mama shook her head sadly. Who did not know that when a priest appears in a dream it means misfortune will befall that home? The Kizil priest gave the grandmother a handful of salt. It was plain that it meant anguish and sorrow.

Suddenly Sev Harout gave out a piercing cry from the distance. "Man alive! Look here. It is Khesim Mama headed straight for the gendarmes!"

And it was true. Khesim Mama was madly clambering up the Hill of Parkhin Madt. Half an hour later she returned to the village, bringing with her the bloody Tatos Ami.

(To be continued)



# BOOKS AND AUTHORS

H. Kurdian, Reviewing Editor

**THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY**, by Sarkis Atamian; Philosophical Library, New York; 1955; 479 pp., including index, two map inserts, and introduction by James H. Tashjian; price \$4.75. Available at Hairenik Bookstore, 212 Stuart Street, Boston 16, Massachusetts.

VAHE A. SARAFIAN, Reviewer

*The Armenian Community*, Sarkis Atamian's compelling analysis of the motivating psychology behind the present political and ethnic attitudes of the Armenian expatriate community, has burst like a powerful flare on the dark Armenian scene. In the midst of confusion and immature imaginings, he has lit a lamp of scientific understanding which casts a sharp beam on the dark corners of Armenian socio-political motivations and brings about mature realization of realities. Sarkis Atamian's book is well worth intensive and extensive consideration by every thoughtful member or student of the Armenian community.

Written as a sociological study of the Armenian diaspora, *The Armenian Community* is actually a very competent blend of sociological and historical techniques. For many years now, especially since the early 30's, it has been obvious that a new academic approach has been in the making, an approach which would sweep aside the artificial limitations of psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science, and history and would merge the various disciplines into a generalized approach capable of creating understanding of the basic motivation of a given society. Foreshadowed by a host of other studies with widely varying degrees of success in interpreting societies, Sarkis Atamian's book, in the opinion of this reviewer, has fully succeeded in finding basic motivations truly capable of explaining the political attitudes of a people, as well as social.

While the Margaret Meads, the Ruth Benedicts, the Malinowskis, and others have concerned themselves with analysis of "configurations" or motivations derived from observation of the actions or expressed attitudes of individuals in a given society, none has succeeded in giving the semi-conscious factors (or attitude-determinants) which can explain the political attitudes of a modern society. A study such as *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, which sought to explain Japan's warlike attitude a few years back, fails in presenting Japan's basic political psychology. While much that it has to say was valuable, yet it gave an exaggerated and limited picture.

Sarkis Atamian has sidestepped that difficulty

of technique by extensive use of historical treatment. By combining the cultural anthropological — sociological approach with the historical, he has succeeded in analysing out certain basic factors forming the Armenian political consciousness. If he had gone deeper into the Armenian cultural basis, that is, if he had sought out the cultural "configuration" of Armenian society, he might have failed to explain Armenian society. By limiting his analysis approximately to the conscious operating level of society, he has succeeded in explaining the reason for various political attitudes, for variation in those attitudes, and for bitter division of the Armenian community. His analysis is especially valuable because, unlike other studies of the Armenians, his book gives a logical basis for clear understanding, sympathy, and even prediction of future events and future attitudes within the Armenian community.

## THE ERmeni MILLET

The first chapter of *The Armenian Community* is concerned with a historical event, which, as far as Atamian's analysis appears to indicate, would seem the origin of the modern Armenian consciousness of community, namely the establishment under early Ottoman rule of an officially recognized Armenian politico-religious community with limited autonomy. While scarcely to be considered definitive, this chapter nevertheless does succeed in displaying the great importance of the 1453 Ottoman establishment of the Armenian patriarchate. Presenting the conflicting interpretations for the readers' consideration, Sarkis Atamian shows how difficult it has been for scholars to assess the various elements in Ottoman history.

Setting out to discover whether the *millet* system was actually the result of governmental beneficence, as some have claimed, of application of a palliative "preventing active consideration of serious social and political problems," as Toynbee has found, or of development of a tactic (on the basis of Islamic philosophy toward other religions) for the furtherance of social distance, Atamian finds that, regardless of theorizing about the benevolence of establishment of the *millet* system, in actual practice, that religious commune system guaranteed the political and social superiority of Islam and the outlaw status of the Christian rayah (cattle). While certain liberties seemed to be granted, in fact those liberties were so restricted by the governing authorities as to be nearly meaningless. Especially, however, the significance of the *millet* system lies in the impor-

tance initially given to the Patriarch. As head of the Armenian community, the Patriarch and the patriarchate became the focal point of, and consequently subject to every pressure exerted against or arising from, Armenian national consciousness. In this chapter, Sarkis Atamian has succeeded in his aim, to show that the Armenian community faced a class situation that date onward, for the establishment of such a focal point of national consciousness endowed the patriarchate with special class privilege and class prestige.

#### THE ARMENIAN NATIONAL CONSTITUTION

In his second chapter, a brilliant exposition of the meaning in social terms of the establishment of the Armenian National Constitution in 1863. Sarkis Atamian, *perhaps oversimplifying for the purpose of clarity and presentation*, has shown the rebellion of the Armenian public against the corrupted authority of the patriarchate. The patriarchate had become the toy and tool of wealthy relics of the Armenian aristocracy. As the seat of Armenian political consciousness, the patriarchate should have been responsive to the political needs and desires of the Armenian general public. On the contrary, as it turned out in the passage of time, the patriarchate served as a power substitute for those "natural" leaders of the clergy and aristocracy who felt repressed by the limitations of foreign rule. Driven by conflicting loyalties and frustration-sharpened rivalries, the old-line leaders (*emirs*) ignored the swelling tide of public opinion against them. When Sultan Abdul Medjid granted a charter of rights (the *Hattı Humayoun* of 1856), immediately reform-minded leaders began to prepare an Armenian National Constitution, which would create an Armenian assembly drawn from both church and lay persons. Ratified by the Porte in 1863, the Constitution was one of the major factors in the impressive Armenian cultural development in Turkey after that date.

In assessing coldly and scientifically the true meaning and results of the establishment of the Constitution, Sarkis Atamian has performed a notable task, for he has avoided the rapturous discussions of that event in history. As an attempt to wrest a basic civil rights program from the Ottoman government for the Armenian people, it was a failure for, unlike a true constitution, it had no force in law, no guarantee. Its real importance, Atamian believes, is to be found in a sudden and decisive shift in class power. In a penetrating analysis, Sarkis Atamian tears the veil of traditional opinion, and exposes the Constitution as a tool of Ottoman subjugation, with the Constantinople and provincial bourgeois-patriarchate alliance in the General Assembly acting as an instrument to prevent an Armenian rising in the provinces. This radical thesis finally answers many of the problems and questions raised in the subsequent city-provinces disagreements and difficulties. The divergence of interests between the established new bourgeois class in Constantinople and the provincial peasantry is clearly the source of much of the political divergence which exists until today. Atamian has brilliantly set the basis

for a cogent development of his theme that class interests are the initial basis of Armenian party strife.

#### THE PROVINCES

In this chapter, Atamian completes his shift of subject from a discussion of the position of the Constantinople community, living in relative safety and prosperity, to the Armenian Provinces, still living in a feudal misery unlike any conceivable life today outside the Soviet forced labor camps. The most glaring weakness of Atamian's book occurs in this chapter, in this reviewer's opinion, for Sarkis Atamian permits himself to be bound by previously published statistics, despite evidence that they are unreliable.

Because he approaches the subject conservatively, in orthodox fashion, he does not challenge the figures he has found in various sources, nor has he subjected them to vigorous criticism. Nevertheless, his use of such unreliable figures does not materially affect his conclusions.

The map attached to this chapter is especially unfortunate, for though carefully prepared, it shows Armenian percentage distributions in the Armenian vilayets on the basis of the notoriously unreliable 1912 figures of the patriarchy, statistics which were purposely kept very low (under instructions from the patriarchy to the provincial churches) to allow no opportunity for any of the figures to be challenged when the Armenian reforms were under discussion. Although the 1882 patriarchy figures are probably far closer to the truth, detailed analysis for various centers in the provinces reveals that many ethnic Armenians were ignored, partly on the basis of religious affiliation, partly of confusion of which age levels should be included, partly of which villages should be included with which churches, since all did not have a church of their own. Some semi-nomadic Armenians and some temporary Armenian emigrants also were not included because of confusion as to place of residence.

Giving only qualified importance to the statistics presented, we must nevertheless recognize that discussion of conditions within the provinces forms a clear picture of terrorism and oppression. Atamian's discussion of the tax system, of the Kurdish-Armenian issues, and of Ottoman malpractices clearly shows a growing divergence of interests between the city and the rural areas, with the Armenians of Turkish Armenia obviously ready to rise as awareness that their present condition was not immutably spread.

#### THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR (1877-78) AND THE ARMENIANS

This very brief chapter places the internal Armenian conditions and the political developments previously discussed into the general international framework, as part of the Eastern Question. By showing the terrible depths of disillusionment caused by the Treaty of San Stefano and its reversal at Berlin in 1878, Atamian has prepared the ground for an understanding of the rise of the revolutionary movement.

### RUSSIAN ARMENIA AND THE RISE OF PATRIOTISM

Discussing in this chapter migrations to Armenian lands held by Russia and the belief that Russia was coming as a protector, Atamian leads the reader through the pages of the Armenian literary renaissance of the 19th century to the threshold of modern Armenian politics. Clearly, and without hesitation, he lays his finger on the pulse of the times, showing the Armenian "upper" classes as finding a sort of refuge under Russia's wing, while the peasantry moved toward a social revolution. In that conflict of class interests, confused and little understood, he finds the genesis of the national revival. With educational opportunity spreading, many Armenians began to question and to think. The ideal of struggle for emancipation, fraught with dangers, began to spread among the peasants of Caucasian Armenia and into Turkish Armenia.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT AND CLASS CONFLICT

In this chapter, keynoted in its title, Sarkis Atamian has presented a classic statement of the early revolutionary movement and its history and development. Treating fairly all elements involved, he takes the reader from the "Defenders of the Fatherland" to the Armenagans, to the Hunchakians, to the Dashnaktsoutioun. In presenting the programs of each, he has touched on the major differentiating factor between Dashnak and Hunchak, the fact that the former could appeal to the entire Armenian nationality because it put the national interest above all others, while the Hunchaks subordinated the national interest to the class conflict interest.

Discussing Dashnak activities, at first in Turkey, then in Russia, Atamian shows how Tsarist policies converted the Dashnak movement into a hostile force by constant hostility to the ideals of the Armenian revolutionary movement. He literally shreds the sophistry so frequently encountered that the Armenian revolutionary movement was instigated and supported by the intrigues of Russia. The fact is that the Armenian revolutionaries faced constant harassment by the Russian authorities and, in time, were forced to devote a large share of their activities to counter the imperialist activities of Russia. In a brilliant conclusion to this chapter, Atamian discusses the crystallization of the class conflict in Armenian political consciousness. He shows the divergence of interests between the various socio-economic groups leading inevitably to political hostilities. The only weakness in this, his major thesis, is a glossing over of the very confused lines of political demarcation between the classes. Such persons as Mantashian, the oil magnate and supporter of the revolutionaries seem at first to challenge this thesis. Further thought, however, makes it clear that the bulk of all Atamian's classes do fit into the general picture he has drawn; the Mantashians are seen to be variant individuals, "mugwumps" in the Armenian politics of the day. *Atamian is conscious of this possible attack on his thesis, for he states: "It cannot be said that every one in the wealthy*

*class opposed the revolution, any more than it can be said that every peasant favored it."*

### THE HAMIDEAN MASSACRES

In this effective chapter, Atamian practically ignores the massacres as such, and deals with their importance as a part of the political picture. He establishes an aggression-retaliation pattern and asserts his opinion that the massacre were an inevitable result of economic, religious, and political oppressions so extreme that they caused the extreme reaction of revolution or rebellion. *This chapter appears to this reviewer to be a "must" henceforth for all who wish to understand the Hamidean genocide of the Nineties.* Delineating cause and effect, Atamian proceeds to discuss the interplay of the Armenian Revolution and European diplomacy, showing obstructionist policy beginning to be more apparent among the wealthy classes. His study of the underlying causes, especially of the importance of Hamid's reaction to the common rumor that he was of Armenian origin, is lucid. The chapter's major importance, however, is in his description of a growing split within the Armenian people, the clerico-wealthy class insisting on enjoying the prerogatives of the Constitution and the Assembly, the provincials and the peasantry turning more and more to the leadership of the Dashnaktsoutioun. Armenian national independence had at last found a focal point in the minds of the general Armenian public, and that focal point was the program of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation.

### FROM THE YOUNG TURK REVOLT TO THE WORLD WAR

In this chapter, Sarkis Atamian takes the bit in his teeth figuratively and begins to race through the dangerous quagmires of nearly contemporary political developments. The Dashnak-Ittihad alliance in Turkey in the pre-World War I period is still under fire by the opponents of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. The aim of that alliance has been distorted and concealed by political polemicists, but Atamian does not allow himself to become involved in useless arguments with distorters. Instead, in straightforward fashion he proves, point by point, the development of policies and the course of events which led to the forcing of the Constitution on Hamid and eventually to his ouster. The Constitution was little "short of a miracle" for the Armenians, as it ameliorated in law many of the injustices under which the Armenians lived. Though the triumph of a new reaction was swiftly forthcoming, the gain of the Armenians was measurable.

Politically, the divergence of class interest which Atamian had earlier remarked on now became more obvious. The Armenian people overwhelmingly allied itself with the national party, as the Armenian Revolutionary Federation had now become, and elected Dashnaks to the Ottoman Parliament to represent Turkish Armenia. The political importance of the Constantinople patriarchy supporters greatly lessened. Despite the healthy, open-minded willingness of the ARF to try to find a common liberal approach to gov-

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ernment with the Young Turks, the latter began to pursue anti-Armenian programs. In this constitutional period occurred the founding of the Sahmanadrangan Ramgavar Party in 1908, which expressed its program as being the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire and the guarantee of equality for all the minorities of that Empire. In the rejection of the Armenian Revolution by the Ramgavars at this time lies the genesis of a basic Ramgavar attitude: the acceptance of whatever political regime happens to dominate the Armenians. In a brilliant analysis, Sarkis Atamian proceeds to show exactly what that attitude meant and the consequent growth of a party division in the Armenian community.

*One thought remains dominant after careful study of the discussion in this chapter, after assessing the references and quotations, namely that no other writer on the subject to my knowledge, whether writing in Armenian or another language, has succeeded in outlining the developing political history of this difficult period in such clear and dispassionate fashion. Sarkis Atamian seems to have no room for prejudices of a party nature when writing about the new-born Ramgavar Party or its attitudes, nor does he present an unsympathetic, an un-understanding, Chronicle. In deed, he is the careful scholar, the cautious scientist, yet he does not fail to present the facts needed to make a value judgement.*

#### WORLD WAR I, ITTIHAD SOCIOLOGY, AND THE ARMENIANS

In a chapter which could well stand on its own merit, even without the support of the rest of his book, Atamian shows in sharp, decisive fashion the origin of events which have been the source of Armenian national trauma, that is of great psychological shock to the Armenian people, the massive, organized genocide of World War I. For the Armenians, even those on an abstract scholarly level, it is almost an impossibility to be unemotional in dealing with the history of this period. Sarkis Atamian, probably doing so contrary to every urge of his soul, has succeeded in presenting the confused and tortured mentality of the Turkish leading elements which led them to the commission of the most heinous crimes in recorded history. Leading the reader through the mental maze of Pan-Turanian and Pan-Islamic romanticisms to the "oriental metaphysics" of leading Ittihadist thinker Ziya Gokalp, Atamian flawlessly brings a rational understanding of the dilemma in the minds of the Turkish chauvinist leaders, the problem of how to establish a national state where no nation exists, for Atamian shows that the Turks were not a nation in the World War I period.

Discussing the relations in the war of Turkey, Russia, and the Dashnaktzoutyoum, Atamian makes one of his rare factual errors. On page 185, he states that the "Eastern Sector" of the ARF, meeting in Erzerum, received the offer of the Turkish Government for an Armenian autonomous state under Turkish protectorate in return for Armenian rebellion against Russia; that was, in fact, the meeting in the Western Sector. Needless to state, the offer was refused.

On the same page, he states that the Russian Government made its similar offer (under Russian protectorate) to the Western Sector convened in Tiflis; this should, in fact, be read in reverse, for the Eastern Sector met in Tiflis.

Atamian clearly discusses the dilemma of what role to take in the war, with the ARF choosing a Russian-Allied policy finally. The importance of the Armenian volunteer bands in the Russian victory at the Battle of Sari-Kamish, one of the great war disasters of history, is stated, and the subsequent seizure on this as an excuse for the inauguration of an Empire-wide genocide of the Armenians by the Turkish Government.

I relating briefly the heroic resistances and the atrocious acts, Atamian still remains the sober, unemotional scientist as he relates little of the eye-catching atrocities, concentrating instead on the importance of various aspects of developments. Again, Atamian's quoted statistics are weak, tending to be far too conservative to withstand critical analysis, but this does not affect nor materially detract from the validity of his narration and assessment. The great role played by the Dashnaktzoutyoum in the resistances within Turkish Armenia and in the military activities on the Caucasian Front is only lightly treated, but a proper treatment must await extensive historical study beyond the scope of *The Armenian Community*.

#### BOLSHEVISM, THE REPUBLIC, AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

This chapter is in many regards the most important in the book. Swiftly surveying various aspects of the International Situation as it concerned Transcaucasia, Atamian comes to grip with the key question dominating political attitudes in the Armenian community since the acts of genocide, namely what position the Armenian political parties took toward the Russian Revolution, and relations of Armenia with the Russian Republic which arose from the ashes of the Russian Empire. *This chapter is handled so lucidly, maintains so rapid a pace without loss of clarity, and assesses so much unfamiliar material that no future student of that period of history can afford to be ignorant of its contents.* Especially, Atamian's discussion of the power politics of the Ramgavar and Dashnaktzagan parties, in particular as regards the status and future of the Turkish Armenians, is a valuable contribution to the general knowledge on that confused period. Atamian does not lose sight of the involvement of classes in the partisan disagreements during the Republic.

Constant attempts of the Ramgavar Party to receive a controlling voice in the Armenian National Delegation at Paris and in the future of the Armenian Republic failed to secure the support of the Armenian people, even though the Dashnaktzoutyoum acquiesced in large part in such efforts in order to preserve national unity in the face of calamity. The international elections held for representation of the expatriate communities in the national delegation favored the ARF, and the free elections in Armenia itself found the Ramgavars divided and ineffective as the people registered an overwhelming approval of the Dashnaktzoutyoum. Sarkis Atamian makes



clear that the Ramgavars, having early disclaimed the role of the revolutionaries, now faced great political frustrations which had an impact on their future attitudes, for the Armenian people took the revolutionaries to their bosom as national heroes, entrusting them with political leadership and rejecting the Ramgavar.

The Act of Union of May 28, 1919, which united Turkish and Russian Armenia under the rule of the Armenian Republic, was hailed by the remnants of the provincial population, but caused chagrin in the Ramgavar ranks, for Ramgavar leadership could not be expressed at the time if an artificial division between Turkish Armenian and Russian Armenians were not maintained. *Sarkis Atamian analyzes the position of the Ramgavar at Erivan in the face of the Bolshevik threat and Allied rivalries at the peace conferences in what will long stand as a definitive study.*

### THE PROLETARIAN TRIUMPH, THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC, AND THE LAUSANNE TREATY

In this section, which casts a sharp eye of scrutiny over the confused inter-relationships of the Bolshevik international movement with the Armenian Republic, of Armenia with its neighbors, of Turco-Armenian difficulties, and the national betrayal by the Allies at Lausanne, Atamian has presented concisely a vast amount of material which has often been studied, but rarely understood. Atamian presents not only the actual sequence of events, but assesses the impact on the Armenian psychology. As a socio-historical presentation this chapter is well-balanced and effective, for it ends with a selection from Armenian writing which reveals in extreme form the extent of the national disappointment and bitterness caused by the betrayal of Armenia by its allies. The Turkish-Bolshevik alliance against the Republic, Bolshevik intrigues against the Armenian state, the Bolshevik take-over, the Bolshevik reign of terror, the February Rebellion against the Soviet regime, and the impact of the Lausanne Treaty on Armenian sentiments are all presented in clear fashion, with the use of unusually effective quotations, and constitute a recitation of an agonizing sequence of duplicity and betrayal. The Armenian reader who loves his people can scarcely complete this chapter without feeling an upsurge of bitterness, yet such emotion scarcely is allowed to appear in the book itself, for Atamian lets the facts and the selections speak for themselves.

### SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ARMENIAN IDENTITIES

Atamian now has reached the point where, as a social scientist, he must state the meaning of what he has been writing as it relates to social meaning and attitude-formation. This chapter, though highly valuable, must be somewhat difficult for persons as yet untrained in the social sciences. *Nevertheless, careful reading, re-reading if necessary in order to understand what is stated, cannot help but enlarge the scope of comprehension of Armenian community attitudes. The brilliance revealed throughout the book by Sarkis Atamian*

*here reaches a height, for as a social interpretation, this chapter has a permanent value. Presentation of an analysis of Dashnak attitudes, values, and definitions, of contrary anti-Dashnak attitudes, values, and definitions, of the bases of anti-Dashnak identity, leads to a valuable discussion of the causes of anti-Dashnak ideological distortion.*

The Dashnak Armenians, identify with the stream of Armenian history, together with an individual identification with the revolution which acts as a catharsis for frustration-feelings induced by the genocide of the Turks. The Dashnaks are psychologically healthier Armenians because they have resisted and fought, and so have tied themselves to the stream of Armenian national sentiments, identifying with the Armenian national desires and the feeling of national separateness. The anti-Dashnaks, on the other hand, with no such historical background to serve as an outlet for residual hostilities, face an unhealthy psychological situation, leading them to substitute the Dashnak for the Turk image, thus, by displaced aggression, permitting some psychological relief, since the symbol (Dashnaks) can be more readily and intensely attacked than the real object (Turks). Irrational though such Ramgavar and anti-Dashnak scapegoating is there is no similar example of displaced aggression on the part of the Dashnaks because the Dashnaks do not feel a psychological need for scape-goating. Atamian's analysis of the "terrorist" propaganda is especially interesting. *As a psychological interpretation, his presentation of the realities of the "terrorist" in Armenian history and the subsequent projection of a stereotype not founded in reality is an unusual and stimulating application of sociological method to a specific issue.* The fund of historical knowledge on which Atamian draws is remarkable for a non-historian. The rationality and lucidity of his analyses, and the cautious extent of his sociological applications are confidence-inspiring.

There can be no question that, regardless of the political background of any future student of the Armenians, this chapter must be fully mastered before a person can be considered qualified henceforth to discuss rationally and validly the realities of the Armenian scene.

### COMMUNISM THE NATIONALITIES PROBLEM, AND THE ARMENIAN IDEOLOGIES

Sarkis Atamian has given a title to this chapter which is beyond the limitations of chapter format. In sort, the varied parts of the title are not given full justice in treatment, for there is too much to be said on each for inclusion in one chapter. Beginning with a valid and concise, but usual, statement of the Communist theoretical approach to "nationality" and "self-determination", he proceeds to a discussion of "Ramgavar-Communist Solution of the Armenian Question", in which he shows the Ramgavar as identifying with the Soviet regime and considering the Armenian Question solved. From this, Sarkis Atamian naturally progresses to a highly analytical and perceptive presentation of the dilemma facing the Ramgavar, caught in a sharp struggle between

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his claim to be a national party, while supporting a foreign-oriented regime in Armenia.

While this chapter, in general, deals more extensively with politics and party status than history, it becomes an interesting challenge to the preconceptions of the reader as the sociological position of parties is explored and the actual status of the Armenian "parties" investigated. Somewhat weakened by unfamiliar jargon, terms familiar to technical sociologists, but certainly unknown to the general public, Sarkis Atamian's presentation nevertheless displays an overall balance and validity. If he could have found a more readily understandable, a less "scholarly" approach than the use of technical jargon such as *Machtstreben*, *affektuell*, "typological constructs", etc., he would have been more effective. His discussion of the relations of Bolshevism and Dashnakoutyoun, with which he closes this chapter, is a concise and practical study.

#### THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY IN AMERICA

For the Armenian American, and perhaps the general American as well, this chapter arouses the most spontaneous interest, for it deals with a deeply troubled community which epitomizes the struggle of nationalism and Communism within the entire Armenian people. Atamian's survey of the early colonization, political origins in America, and the role of politics in the early immigrant community is blessedly brief, and the reader is grateful to be reading about 1933 and the schism in the Armenian Church almost at once. Sarkis Atamian's presentation of the Armenian community in America during and after 1933 is more properly a survey of the Armenian church in America during the same period. Fearlessly handling the most controversial aspects, Atamian shows no over-delicacy or hesitation in discussing the activities of Archbishop Tourian, his assassination, the after-effects, and the pro-communist control of the Armenian church. A searching inquiry, although at times bordering on becoming an anti-Soviet "brief", this chapter contains a vast amount of generally unfamiliar or unpublished material. Though one instinctively sides with Atamian in his bias of righteous indignation over the perversion of the Armenian church by pro-communist elements, the historian must regret that at times the importance of events is partially obscured by a tendency to stress details and chronological sequence. This reviewer personally felt a desire to have clearer identification of the pro-communist groups which actively or passively helped subvert the church; perhaps, Atamian has painted his canvas with too heavy a stroke, his colors too sharp, his lines of division too distinct. Though unquestionably complete and valid *as far as it goes*, the survey of the Armenian church in America of Sarkis Atamian seems to ignore the numbers of Armenians in various communities who were taken in by the Soviet propaganda, who believed the Dashnakoutyoun to have committed a moral wrong, who temporarily permitted active pro-Soviet persons to become trustees, only to find the church nearly totally taken over in a few short years. The thinking of these people, their approach to the community

and church life, their gradual awakening, their gradual reacceptance of Dashnak leadership — these are topics which would have made this chapter far more satisfying.

#### PRO-COMMUNIST ARMENIAN CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE DASHNAKTZOUTYOUN

*From the historical viewpoint, this chapter is probably the most important in the entire book, for it presents material on recent and current Armenian political life which is unavailable anywhere else.* The role of the pro-Soviet propagandists in continuous efforts to destroy the Dashnakoutyoun by labelling it "Fascist", by denouncing it to the government in war-time, by attempting to arouse public opinion against it by means of non-Armenian publications such as the *Nation*, — all these are brought under investigation as part of the Soviet technique in dividing the community. The truth of the situation is thoroughly explored, without polemics, but with considerable forcefulness.

Sarkis Atamian has taken the favorite part of the "Fascist" charge, that is, the part relating the "Tzaghagrans" (the former name of the Armenian Youth Federation) to fascistic "race-worshipping", and he has eliminated it as a party propaganda issue henceforth by a complete and decisive investigation of the facts of its meaning and of the background of the coining of the word. Taking the quick jump from such charges to the actual activities of the anti-Stalin Soviet Armenians who cooperated with the Germans, Atamian presents for the first time in print some material on Armenian participation in the war. His discussion of the Armenian Legion, of the *Azadarmadagans*, and of Nejdesh's role is somewhat in the nature of a preliminary investigation since no other study exists by which to test facts. While I cannot accept all his statements in this connection, especially his belief that General Nejdesh was behind the organization of the *Azadarmadagans* (more properly *Azadarmadik*), the ignoring of the war-time party called "Armenagan", his assumption that the Vlasov Movement was superior to the Armenian Legion in authority, nevertheless, it must be recognized that Sarkis Atamian has performed a great service in putting into print what facts and conclusions he could. No one, as yet, has sufficient data to give properly the position in Armenian life of the Armenian Legion; Atamian has done about as well as could be asked for, but there will be much written before the last word is said.

In discussing the post-war period, Atamian has presented a concise account of the repatriation, of the D. P. question, and of charges of Dashnak "communism". The thread which binds all the various events included in this chapter replete with thought-provoking material is the consistent attempt of the pro-Soviet elements to distort every occurrence into anti-Dashnak propaganda. The sociological analysis at the end of the chapter is a brilliant statement of the basic differences in party attitudes where procedure or method is concerned. The Dashnakoutyoun maintains a high, moral approach to political hostility, con-

tinuing a tradition of almost naive political ethics, while the anti-Dashnaks, especially under Bolshevik philosophy, see political behaviour as essentially amoral.

#### THE ARMENIAN APOSTOLIC CHURCH — IDEOLOGICAL BATTLEGROUND

This concluding chapter, which brings up to date the earlier discussion of the Church, reveals the present status, use of the church as a political weapon, intrigue in the California diocese, and the condition in the Middle East. While dealing primarily with the church as a religious institution, Atamian manages at the same time to throw considerable light on the community attitudes behind various events. His discussion of the California diocese is particularly interesting as an example of public awakening. Atamian warns sharply against the attempts to reclassify the Armenian Church as "Orthodox"; *it is perhaps unfortunate that his manuscript was prepared before that particular campaign back-fired disastrously on its authors, helping to cause the very public awakening toward which the Dashnak-zoutioun was working.* Similarly, though not vitally changing the conclusions drawn, conditions since the manuscript was prepared have changed swiftly as regards the election of catholici in both Antilias and Etchmiadzin, with both seats already filled. Nevertheless, Sarkis Atamian's basic political analysis of the condition of the

church at the time the manuscript was prepared still holds true, with only a few facets altered. There is much value in this chapter, much to think about.

Sarkis Atamian concludes with a "Summary and Conclusion" which succinctly states the author's view of international politics and of the role of the Dashnakzoutioun.

#### A GENERAL WORD

This reviewer feels that *THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY* is a book which challenges deeply, thus contributing to much better understanding. Unlike party publications, full importance is given to both sides of any issue — Sarkis Atamian rarely leaves this basic standard of fair presentation in his writing. Nevertheless, the reader who cannot take a strong stand when he completes this book is a poor person indeed, for Atamian speaks with facts, and his facts are attested by an extensive, impressive list of footnotes, references, and bibliography. *One can scarcely imagine how a person who has closed his mind to logic by supporting the Soviet system in Armenia could review this book. I have puzzled about it in curiosity and have come to the conclusion that such a person would only be able to try to cast ridicule on it unread, for he could not possibly continue to justify his anti-Dashnak or pro-Soviet position after reading Atamian's completely capable analysis of the formation of Armenian political and social attitudes.*

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